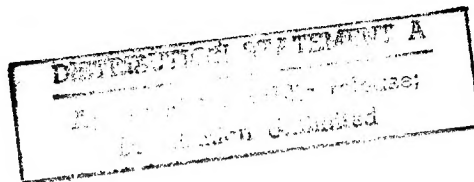


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# Southeast Asia Report

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21 May 1985

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AUSTRALIA

# LEADERSHIP FAILURE TO CONSIDER INTERESTS VIS-A-VIS U.S. HIT

Melbourne THE AGE in English 1 Mar 85 p 13

[News Analysis by Kenneth Davidson in Canberra: "Our Interests Ignored for American Alliance"]

[Text] Australia's leaders apparently have some sort of congenital affliction that prevents them from taking into account Australian interests in anything connected with the US and the Anzus alliance.

And even on the alliance, they can get it wrong. The debate about the Regan proposal to test the MX missile in the Tasman Sea has been conducted on the presumption that the full MX program is settled policy in Washington.

In fact, the MX program is highly controversial and there is a good chance that it will get dumped when it is subject to congressional review in April.

The program is even opposed by Republicans such as Senator Barry Goldwater whose record in supporting US defence preparedness is impeccable.

The MX system is opposed by so-called hawks because the land-based missiles will be vulnerable to a first strike and their destructive capability to all intents and purposes is no better than Trident II which, because it is submarine launched, is invulnerable to a first strike.

The MX is opposed by doves on the grounds that it destabilises deterrence because it is accurate to 120 metres and thus can be used in nuclear fighting. (Deterrence simply means that if you blow up my cities you can be assured that I will retaliate. in kind. Nuclear war fighting rests on the fantasy that one side can win a war by using highly accurate weapons to knock out enemy nuclear weapons systems before they can be fired.)

Mr Hayden (and his Ambassador for Disarmament) burnt up most of his diminished stock of credibility when he defended the MX program on the ground that it was vital to deterrence. Does he believe that the US lacks the capability to deter a Russian nuclear attack now?

Does this mean he thinks the Russians have the capability to hunt down and destroy US strategic nuclear submarines, which carry some 5000 nuclear missiles, or is this invulnerable second-strike capability the figment of everybody's imagination?

How can this Government square its support for those in Washington who want the MX program to continue, and its definite destabilising impact on the nuclear balance, with its claims to supporting global efforts to reduce nuclear arms, or with its opposition to French nuclear testing of weapons which are puny by comparison with the MX program?

And how does the Government square its commitment to a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific with its silent approval of US attempts to bully New Zealand into accepting visits of nuclear-powered and armed ships?

All these contradictions are justified in the name of Anzus which has become an all-purpose talisman, supposedly securing us against the bogymen of the moment who could be Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese or Indonesian.

Because Australians are psychologically incapable of facing up to the fact that they might have vital interests in this part of the world which could be opposite to those of the US, or believe that Australia is incapable of defending those interests alone in the event that such interests are defined, our foreign policy is still a variant of "all the way with LBJ"--except that Mr Hawke doesn't trust his own party and Mr Reagan is not President Johnson.

Australia must define and defend its own national interests which, as recent history has shown, are not always the interests of the US.

Australia has an interest in helping to maintain global stability and this means supporting the US ability to deter a Russian nuclear attack. But that is not the same as supporting the present US administration in its drive for enhanced nuclear superiority over the Russians.

As Australia is a potential nuclear target in any nuclear war between the superpowers, we should expect more than a knee-jerk reaction from our politicians to actions by the US, involving us, which destabilise deference.

And we have regional interests which include PNG and New Zealand. Australia is bound to New Zealand by geography as well as history. There are no two other independent nation states which are as similar as Australia and New Zealand.

It is inconceivable that the Nordic countries would put pressure on each other at the behest of the US (or Russia), and the same should be true of Australasia.

Norway is a front-line member of NATO, yet Norway has stringent controls on nuclear-powered vessels visits, and a policy of total prohibition of nuclear-armed ships visits which Norway expects will be respected by its NATO partners.

The US respected the ban on nuclear ship visits by the previous Labor Government from 1972 to 1975 without any public fuss, without any weakening of the US ability to deter Russia--and there is no change in that situation today.

We can see the costs of Anzus in terms of US bases which have made Australia a nuclear target in a war between the superpowers.

But what of the benefits? Is there any evidence to suggest that the existence of Anzus means a greater willingness by the US to defend Australia's regional interests where those interests are in conflict or irrelevant to the interests of the US?

That question has been around for a long time and, as far as I am aware, none of the defenders of Anzus has attempted to answer it.

The US sold Australia out over West Irian in the 1960s because it felt its interests were better served by currying favour with the Sukarto regime, rather than building a Melanesian buffer between Australia and Indonesia as demanded by the same men in the Menzies Government who had negotiated the Anzus agreement. The problem with Indonesia over New Guinea has not gone away.

In spite of the lessons written in blood during the Second World War, there is bipartisan support in Canberra for the fiction that the border dispute between PNG and Indonesia is nothing to do with Australia, simply because our politicians are transfixed by the thought of doing anything except abjectly appease the Indonesians in the absence of US support.

Unfortunately for Australian strategic interests and the Melanesians on either side of the border, the straits between the Indian and Pacific oceans controlled by Indonesia are of more strategic significance to the US than the stability of the PNG border with Indonesia.

What Australia does in respect to the MX missile program is unlikely to affect the outcome which will be decided in Washington.

But what we do or don't do about PNG, which is, whether we like it or not, our client state, will have a fundamental bearing on the border dispute in the short term, and on Australian security in the long term.

At the heart of the PNG border dispute is the transmigration program which is using Javanese peasants to dispossess Melanesian tribespeople of their lands.

The program is being financed by the World Bank which said in a recent report on the impact of economic development on tribal people: "The Bank accepts that entire tribes of human beings must not be sacrificed to the goal of economic development..."

But transmigration is a waste of money which is not in the interests of the bulk of Indonesians in Java, let alone the Melanesians of West Irian, and the program is coming under increasing attack by Indonesian technocrats and provincial governors.

Australia should be able to put pressure on Indonesia to stop transmigration through the World Bank especially as there is growing opposition to the program within Indonesia and the total [word indistinct] for Indonesian development are contracting due to the reduction in oil revenues. But it is inconceivable that the present Government could or would want to mount a credible policy of pressure on Indonesia when it appointed one of the Labor party's strongest advocates of a soft line with Indonesia.

AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE COLUMNIST SAYS U.S. DESTABILIZING LANGE GOVERNMENT

Melbourne THE AGE in English 2 Mar 85 p 10

[Commentary by Michelle Grattan: "US Puts a Very Heavy Boot on a Thin NZ Neck"]

[Text]

BOB HAWKE is irritated and mystified by New Zealand's blunt, shambling, intractable David Lange.

For one thing our Prime Minister, recently on the losing end of an election debate, finds it extraordinary that Mr Lange chooses to slug it out at the Oxford Union with American moral majority crusader Jerry Falwell.

Mr Lange represents a brand of politics that seems miles removed from the packaged, conservative sort to which we have become accustomed from our Labor Government. It has been said that he personally would have liked to change the nuclear ships policy. But hearing him arguing his case in this week's news bulletins, he was a man putting a point of principle, however misguided you might regard the principle in question.

David Lange has become a pain in the neck for Bob Hawke. Debate about the American Alliance is never a lot of fun in the Labor Party, even though the majority of the party is pro-American.

New Zealand's ban on nuclear ships is blowing apart Anzus as we know it. Both the Americans and the Hawke Government would deny this; they emphasise the fact that the formal treaty is untouched. So it is, but the Americans are ruthlessly excluding the New Zealanders from all current Anzus activities, culminating in this week's shut-out from the American intelligence network.

The substance, if not the form,

of Anzus is becoming AUS, though NZ would be quickly restored to the triad if the Lange Government was forced into submission — or defeated at the next election.

The American motives are and have always been clear — the US is demonstrating to other allies the pain in defying treaty obligations. America couldn't give a darn about New Zealand but worries a lot about Nato and Japan and the so-called demonstration effect.

The US apparently does not believe or fear that it could be seen as an ineffective international thug if New Zealand does not respond. Or perhaps it believes that in the long run it must win, which may well be true. What America appears to be about now is destabilisation of the NZ Government, directed to the next election.

The USS Buchanan can be seen as the bailiff asking for the alliance rent — or the symbol of modern gunboat diplomacy.

A moralistic, tough-minded US regime asks: "Why should a country get the benefits of a treaty if it refuses to pay the premiums?" Logically, it is a fair enough question, but in practice the American standover tactics are looking nastier by the week, making it unpleasant for an Australian Labor Government to have to tacitly approve them.

"We are neutral," Mr Hawke said on Thursday when questioned about the Government's attitude to the US decision on intelligence-sharing. It is not quite



true. Australia has made it abundantly clear that it deplores the Lange Government action and is backing the US escalating pressure.

At the same time history, mutual interests and Australian-New Zealand loyalties demand that it make the effort to look to the bilateral relationship with New Zealand and try to keep that intact. Thus Mr Hawke stressed that considerable logistical efforts would be made to separate Australian-origin intelligence, which will still be passed across the Tasman.

The ships row has strengthened the Australian-US link, which is much more important for both partners than the US-NZ one is to those countries. It has demonstrated the importance the Americans attach to this alliance, even if primarily because of its domino effect for other alliances. The Americans' no-fuss acceptance of the MX turnaround showed their recognition that the wider link must be kept firm at all cost. The Australian determination that the US embargo on intelligence be scrupulously observed shows the same awareness.

At the same time, the Federal Government is being forced to think more systematically about both its relations with New Zealand and its responsibilities in the South Pacific region, an area to which New Zealand has traditionally paid more attention than we have. What could come out of the Anzus blow-up could be a rearranged network of bilateral relationships between Australia and the US and between Australia and New Zealand (with the Anzus shell still there). These issues will be canvassed in the paper on the alliance, post ships, which Foreign Minister Bill Hayden and Defence Minister Kim Beazley are expected to have ready for the

Government late this month.

The Lange Government has ensured that foreign policy remains an issue within the ALP and between Government and Opposition. However, despite Mr Hawke's poor performance in the MX debate a week ago, the Opposition has not mauled the Government this week on the Anzus issue. Andrew Peacock keeps calling for the Australian Government to do something — anything. But as Mr Hayden asked pertinently, what can be done? One thing that the Australian Government possibly should be doing is suggesting to the Americans that they cool things, but that clearly is not what Mr Peacock has in mind.

Nowhere is the Americans' heavy-handedness in the ships row — and the unacceptable nature of their conduct — clearer than in the discussion which has gone on about economic action against New Zealand. The Americans have said they certainly do not intend economic sanctions against their erring little friend, though making it clear, not too subtly, that there are more ways than one to put the money squeeze on the weak New Zealand economy.

What should be slightly shocking, even to those who take the most real politik view of international relations, is that trade sanctions could ever be discussed seriously enough for the Americans to be sounding reasonable by ruling them out.

One can understand and accept, to borrow Mr Hawke's favorite phrase, that the Americans want to give a recalcitrant ally a bit of a kick. What they have done, and the Australian Government finds itself having to condone, is to put a very heavy boot on the thin New Zealand neck.



AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE PAPER DISAPPROVES OF U.S. REPRISALS

Melbourne THE AGE in English 2 Mar 85 p 11

[Editorial: "New Zealand Is No Island"]

[Text]

SO the United States is teaching New Zealand — and its other allies — a lesson. But the educative process itself can be a kind of unguided missile and what the allies learn, once it passes through the filter of individual national attitudes, interests and idiosyncracies may not be what the United States intended. Clearly the Reagan administration wishes to demonstrate that those sheltering under an umbrella must be prepared to help hold it. To be an effective partner in Anzus, the administration's argument goes, New Zealand must be prepared to host US warships under US ground rules — primarily that there can be no disclosure whether they are nuclear armed. New Zealand claims that the visits of nuclear-armed or even nuclear-powered ships play no fundamental role in Anzus. The US certainly has a strategic point. Why indeed should it in effect declare which of its vessels carry nuclear weapons? And New Zealand has a point. If visits are simply to show the flag, how do they affect the operational capacity of Anzus?

In a world where both security and insecurity are, horrendous as it may be, based ultimately on nuclear weapons, New Zealand seeks its own private paradise in the South Pacific. But no nation will be an island if the missiles go off. The US is not asking it to bear a heavy burden. New Zealand, unlike Australia, is not entangled in the nuclear web. Still, New Zealand is a democracy and its democratically elected Government came to power with an unambiguous anti-nuclear platform supported by public opinion. Public opinion is a fickle creature; it changes and so do governments. The question is whether it might not have been better for the US to have ridden out this storm in the

Tasman. The Reagan administration's answer, it seems, is that New Zealand is setting a precedent and nuclear allergies are catching, at least in Western democracies where governments do not have the luxury of authoritarianism. In fact, New Zealand is following a precedent. Norway, Nato member, prohibits the visits of nuclear-armed ships. But the US is worried about the nervousness of some Nato allies about the deployment of cruise missiles.

Will they see New Zealand as a dreadful example, paying a proper price in anger, intelligence sharing and, possibly, in trade? Perhaps. On the other hand, they may see the US as a bully which brooks no dissent. But while the necessity of the Western alliance is beyond doubt, the terms, obligations, tactics, strategy and, for that matter, the morality of actions, should be open to debate. Certainly as nuclear warfare remains, thankfully, a theory, there is room for disagreement about what constitutes a first-strike weapon and about what speeds up the nuclear race. It is possible to disagree strongly with the Lange Government's stand while disapproving of the US reaction to it. The intelligence embargo will make life more difficult perhaps for the Australian Government and its organisations than for the New Zealanders. It also seems a strangely counter-productive step. If the world is a dangerous place and alliances therefore sensible and needed, intelligence information which reinforces these attitudes would serve the US cause. The US reprisals may just turn New Zealand into a symbol for Europe of national sovereignty and anti-Americanism. It is not; it is simply an alliance partner which is being wrong-headed.

AUSTRALIA

KEATING ROLE IN HAWKE CABINET ANALYZED

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Paul Kelly]

[Text]

THE historic decision of the Hawke Cabinet to allow entry of 16 foreign banks must prompt a reassessment of the political role and motives of the Treasurer, Mr Keating — the moving force in this decision — and his future impact on this Labor Government.

Mr Keating has been seen for much of his career as the spearhead of the NSW right wing in Canberra, a fast-talking "numbers cruncher" who fires invective as willingly at the ALP Left as he does at the Liberal Party.

Yet even in the Labor Party prejudice can run counter to facts for only so long. While the party will deny it, Mr Keating has been the significant reformist figure in the Hawke Government for some time and his actions have contradicted his image as the archetypal expedient politician.

Not only is Mr Keating responsible for taking deregulation of the financial system to the limit, but he is equally committed to the most sweeping change in Australia's tax structure for 40 years.

The Treasurer in fact has one central ambition at present: putting in place the basic structural changes needed to the Australian economy for the next few decades, in defiance of the political risks involved.

Mr Keating is introducing the tax package because he is convinced this reform is long

overdue; yet he knows only too well the huge political gamble it involves and the possibility it might demolish not only his own reputation but also the Hawke Government.

One reason the Treasurer will probably succeed in locking in both the Labor Party and the trade union movement to the tax package is that his colleagues cannot grasp that Mr Keating is no longer the politician they assume him to be.

The Labor Party has still not realised that the most senior member of the NSW Right in the Government has repudiated that faction's philosophy of political caution and is embarking upon his own economic reconstruction program.

Mr Keating is too shrewd a politician not to realise the huge risks involved in the tax package. After all, it involves two new taxes — a broadly based indirect tax which will affect virtually everybody in the country and a capital gains tax set at a high threshold on which an Opposition scare campaign can run.

Of course the offsetting move is a big cut in personal income tax.

The real story about Mr Keating is that he has been transformed more than any other minister by the last two years of government. The amateur Treasurer of early 1983 has become the financial

zealot of 1985 whose horizons are ever-widening.

Indeed Mr Keating is not even sure he wants to stay in politics. Never one to under-rate his talent, he has been influenced by the money-market men and international bankers he has met overseas. Mr Keating, at 41, has other career options.

As a result he acts from a position of strength. The man who is secure in himself is prepared to use the power opportunities he is given.

The conventional wisdom about Mr Keating, so often repeated that it may as well be set in political granite, is that of a man who believes in nothing but power, and as Treasurer is preoccupied with becoming Prime Minister.

A fortnight ago, when Mr Keating told the television cameras on the front stairs of Parliament House that the "fourth graders" in Caucus who were criticising Mr Hawke should "shut up", there was a collective moan from the party and more than a few members who boiled in silent outrage.

To many of them it was typical Keating — the ambitious pragmatic Treasurer with the sharp tongue — applying the cutting edge to the Caucus whose members he sees little of these days.

The reality is that Mr Keating has adopted a fairly philosophical or "devil-may-care" attitude to the prime ministership and, in particular, he is not prepared to squander

any opportunities as Treasurer to keep a clean copy book for further promotion.

In one sense Mr Keating is being true to one of his deepest instincts, seize every chance you get.

The deregulation of the financial system appears in retrospect to have come easily. This overlooks the fact that it represented a complete somersault of ALP tradition and policy.

Mr Keating initially won the support of Mr Hawke and then pushed the idea through every forum of the ALP — Caucus, national conference and Cabinet — by a mixture of intimidation and persuasion.

He intends to adopt the same approach with the tax reform package, although this is a far more tricky exercise since the probability of electoral hostility is much greater.

Mr Keating is determined as Treasurer to put in place the tax package his predecessor, Mr Howard, wanted but lacked the political clout to impose.

Herein lies one of the great differences between Mr Keating and Mr Howard.

Mr Keating has returned the Treasury Ministry to a position of political pre-eminence in Cabinet, which it has not enjoyed since the late Mr Harold Holt was treasurer in the Menzies Cabinet.

One of the strengths of the present Labor Government is that Mr Hawke works with his Treasurer and supports his Treasurer in Cabinet. This is an old-fashioned Australian political tradition, which had fallen into disuse until fairly recently.

The ALP Left and Centre Left factions will repudiate any suggestion of Mr Keating as a reformist Treasurer. The obvious reason is because the Keating changes have been right-wing not left-wing reforms.

After all, the campaign to deregulate the financial system and reallocate the tax burden began during the period of the Fraser govern-

ment.

In this sense the changes being introduced by Mr Hawke and Mr Keating are ideas which have originated not on the Labor side of politics or within the social-democratic tradition. They are reforms which Labor has seized from outside its own political mainstream and grafted on to its own policy package.

The other significant insight this week into Mr Keating's approach as Treasurer came last Tuesday when Mr Howard went on the attack in Parliament on the Government's failure to take offsetting measures to match the fall of the Australian dollar.

The Treasurer's speech was one for the connoisseurs. In it Mr Keating was not just trying to score points from Mr Howard, he was making a rare attempt to explain the philosophy he has adopted in office.

Mr Keating declared: "He (Mr Howard) will not accept that there is a basic difference in our philosophies. This is a Government with a policy cast for growth; it is not a policy cast for the ideological obsessions of people in the Liberal Party or the business community."

Mr Keating argued that "the smallest deficit is not necessarily the right deficit".

He argued that the Labor Government would adjust the deficit according to the strength of the private sector.

This means that at times such as the present, when the private sector is increasing, the deficit will be wound back to accommodate this.

On monetary policy Mr Keating argued that while the

Government rejected the practice of monetary targeting and the belief of an iron-clad relationship between growth in money supply and inflation, the Government was still committed to a firm monetary policy.

Indeed, one reason the Government is not anxious to see a tighter monetary policy than at present is its concern that the danger of choking off economic growth through even higher interest rates is greater than the potential danger of facilitating an increase in inflation through a slightly more lax monetary policy.

Mr Hawke and Mr Keating see the prices and incomes accord as central to the Government's anti-inflationary stance. They argue that their Government has a wages policy which can actually work during an economic upturn whereas this is exactly where the previous coalition government failed.

Mr Keating, in fact, has a dual role as Labor Treasurer. On the one hand he is dedicated to doing the necessary deals with the ACTU to guarantee the continuation of this wages policy. On the other hand he is committed to changing the essential financial and tax structure of the country by a series of reforms that have been previously championed, but not introduced, by the coalition opposition.

It is a combination of both tradition and innovation. Above all, it is a high-risk strategy for an aspiring Prime Minister.

AUSTRALIA

MX ROW REWRITES GOVERNING PARTY RELATIONSHIPS

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1 Mar 85 p 13

[Commentary by Senator Fred Chaney: "Labor Party's Left Lies Low--For Now"]

[Text]

AUSTRALIA'S defence arrangements generally and its relationship with the United States under the ANZUS pact in particular, have been very high profile issues over recent weeks. The trigger for renewed interest in national security was the Prime Minister's extraordinary about-face on the offer of logistical support for the testing of the MX missile delivery system.

The internal dissension within government ranks was spectacular and there is no doubt that long-term damage has been done to our international reputation.

The Government's political defence has been to claim business as usual under ANZUS and to stand off from the deteriorating situation between the United States and New Zealand.

Despite the Government's soothing words it is now clear that ANZUS is seriously threatened and hence cannot be taken for granted. This threat is understandably the major news of the week.

Less noticed, but nevertheless very important, is the re-writing of relationships within the Government party as a result of the MX row and what followed. The major domestic implication of the whole affair has been its effect on the

Labor backbench. It is clear there is a new-found confidence and assertiveness within the Caucus. They have seen the high-flying Hawke cut down to size.

This week's debate on the Bill introduced by the Australian Democrats to ban nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships from Australian waters showed that the new confidence goes well beyond the back-room power brokers. It has touched lesser lights such as the Left's Senators Georges and McIntosh.

It is a sign of things to come. Both senators said they broadly supported the aims of the Chipp Bill, yet both justified not voting for it on the grounds that the Democrats were just out to embarrass Labor's Left. Senator Georges showed the strength of his feeling on the central issue when he said: "Our subservience to the United States is based on some empty fear of the Soviet Union."

The message to the Labor leadership was clear. The MX crisis showed the Prime Minister was vulnerable to party pressure and encouraged his critics to espouse views directly opposed to party policy. The big difference is that six months ago this sort of open disaffection would either not have occurred or, if it did,

would have been disregarded by the Government.

The Government was forced to compromise. It was simply not game to put its left-wingers to the test on the floor of the Senate and so moved an amendment of its own which, while acceptable to the Left, failed to adequately express the principles for which Mr Hawke claims his Government stands. The next day the Opposition put the Government to the test again. This time they supported us, but at the cost of Senator Georges' abstention.

The significance of the nuclear ships debate is that we can expect an emboldened and resurgent Left to tackle policy issues on which they have been beaten in the past. Foreign and defence policy is a natural resting place for leftish passions, but there is no lack of fervour in other important policy areas.

Australians should not be fooled by the phoney peace which has descended on the ranks of the ALP.

As one senior member of the faction was quoted as saying last week: "The Prime Minister may seem to have come out of Caucus unscathed, but he knows and we know that we won."

CSO: 4200/779

AUSTRALIA

ENVOY PRAISES HAWKE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF ANZUS ROW

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 1 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Hugh White]

[Text]

CANBERRA: New Zealand's High Commissioner in Canberra, Mr Graham Ansell, yesterday praised the Hawke Government's handling of the US defence sanctions against New Zealand, while also pointing out that it was in Australia's interest to maintain New Zealand's defence capabilities.

But Mr Hawke yesterday acknowledged that Australia was giving the US the benefit of the doubt in enforcing the American intelligence quarantine against New Zealand, by holding back any Australian intelligence about which there was any question of US input.

And Mr Hawke also cast doubt on whether this year's regular meeting of the three ANZUS foreign ministers, scheduled to be held in Canberra in July, would go ahead.

Mr Ansell, who took over his country's Canberra mission barely a month ago, told the *Herald* yesterday that Mr Hawke and Mr Beazley had made it clear that they "wanted to maintain the effectiveness of bilateral co-operation between New Zealand and Australia to the highest possible degree".

"That, I have no doubt, has been taken as a very positive statement in Wellington, as it was by me," he said.

Mr Ansell said that he believed that Mr Hawke had exercised a moderating influence on Washington's response to New Zealand's ship-ban policy, but he also pointed out that it was in

Australia's interest to maintain exercises with New Zealand.

"Mr Hawke has pointed to his apprehensions about increasing factors of instability in the South Pacific," Mr Ansell said, referring to Mr Hawke's citing in Parliament on Wednesday of New Caledonia as a source of worrying regional unrest.

"The Australian Government is well aware that New Zealand is making a contribution towards the stability of the Pacific, and so I would imagine in the Australian defence community it would be seen as important that New Zealand defence forces should be kept at the highest possible operational capability.

"That of course we can best do through co-operation with the Australian defence forces," he said.

"Although it is not likely that New Zealand will be consulted in the formal sense about the preparation of this paper, there will I believe be adequate opportunity for us to explain what the New Zealand policy is, and what it is not."

Meanwhile Mr Hawke told a press conference yesterday that plans for the ANZUS Council meeting were under review.

The Deputy Opposition Leader, Mr Sinclair, last night criticised Mr Hawke for calling into question the ANZUS Council meeting in July.

"This conference must go ahead and Australia must give it its full backing," he said.

AUSTRALIA

## COMMISSION, ALP RECOMMEND LIMITS ON ASIO POWERS

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 2 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by Richard McGregor and Hugh White]

[Text]

CANBERRA: The Hope Royal Commission has accepted an ALP proposal to tighten constraints on ASIO's operations — including greater limitation on ASIO surveillance of lawful political dissent.

The Hope Commission is believed to have adopted ALP proposals for a tighter definition of "subversion" in the ASIO Act, prohibiting ASIO from concerning itself with lawful political dissent, and expansion of ministerial access to ASIO files.

The need to ensure that ASIO's activities do not interfere with legitimate political dissent has been a major priority among Labor critics of the organisation.

This was accepted by Justice Hope in his previous report on the organisation, in which he recommended that a definition of subversion should be incorporated into the ASIO Act, not left up to the organisation to define.

The ALP's submission recommended, among other things, that ASIO should only be empowered to scrutinise political activities which involved an intention to use violence to overthrow the Government, and proposed that a special clause should be added to the ASIO Act expressly to forbid it to interfere, or scrutinise "lawful dissent".

These recommendations are intended to prevent repetitions of ASIO surveillance of political activities such as the protest movement against the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is not clear how many of the ALP's recommendations on this matter have been adopted by Justice Hope.

However, the Hope Commission

has rejected key ALP recommendations for tougher supervision of Australia's intelligence agencies.

Members of the ALP Federal Caucus are disappointed with Justice Hope's recommendations. However, some have expressed confidence that the tough controls advocated in the ALP's submission to the Royal Commission will be implemented by Cabinet, despite Justice Hope's rejection of them.

The Royal Commission's final report, a comprehensive review of Australia's five intelligence agencies, was presented to the Government shortly before Christmas. It is expected to be released in an edited form soon, after the Government has decided how to act on its recommendations.

But Justice Hope has apparently rejected two ALP recommendations to increase independent scrutiny of security operations.

The ALP recommended the appointment of a Security Com-

missioner — independent of Government, Parliament and the agencies themselves — to carry out regular judicial audits of the security operations, examine grievances and monitor the culling of files.

The ALP also recommended the establishment of a Joint Parliamentary Committee on National Security, to act independently of the Commissioner and the Government as a third overseer of the activities of the intelligence and security agencies.

Neither of these recommendations has been adopted by Justice Hope in his report, the recommendations of which have apparently been circulated among Federal Caucus members this week.

The ALP's submission to the Hope Commission was compiled by a nine-member party committee which included members from all factions.

Justice Hope's review is the second he has conducted of Australia's security and intelligence apparatus.

AUSTRALIA

EDITORIAL URGES ALP AWAY FROM NEW ZEALAND EXAMPLE

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 2-3 Mar 85 p 16

[Editorial: "French Socialists' Message for Lange"]

[Text]

WHATEVER his other failings, it appears that the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Lange, is not without some political skills. His pilgrimage through the United States and Great Britain will do nothing to compensate New Zealand for the damage his Government has done to its military alliances, but it does seem to have made him unto an unlikely folk hero among unilateral disarmers in far-flung reaches of the globe.

Once the people of his country recognise the extent of their isolation as a result of the seemingly unavoidable collapse of ANZUS, Mr Lange's stocks will probably fall at home. In the meantime, however, his passing celebrity as a champion of the international "peace" movement could have consequences abroad of a significance unimaginable a few months ago.

While Mr Lange has scarcely achieved greatness, he has, to paraphrase the words of Abraham Lincoln, at least had notoriety thrust upon him. It may be remembered that he was far from enthusiastic while in opposition about the New Zealand Labour Party's policy of denying harbour facilities to "nuclear-capable" warships. But once elected he has stuck by his party's policy with nothing short of exuberance.

It is not surprising that he is now looked on as rather an exceptional

figure among the leaders of Western social democratic and labour parties. Many of these parties have large numbers of neutralist, pacifist and anti-American members. Many of them also have had resolutions carried at their party congresses calling for disengagement from their military alliances. But Mr Lange is the first labour head of government to put these policies so dramatically into effect.

The effect of his actions could be twofold. In the first place, he could serve as a standard-bearer to other political activists of neutralist bent in Western Europe and in Australia. Furthermore, particularly if his example is followed by other governments under public pressure which he has helped arouse, there could be a revival in the US of those isolationist sentiments which were still strong until well after World War II.

The great majority of the American people is convinced, as we ought to be, that, unpalatable as this truth may be, the democratic nations of the world are under constant threat from Soviet aggression. Alliances such as NATO and ANZUS were created to resist that challenge. However, as is already evident in the US, a growing body of opinion at all levels of society is not prepared to take the risks necessarily involved in a co-ordinated defensive system, including an adequate nuclear



arsenal, if its self-proclaimed allies are not willing to share those risks.

Even if a sufficient number of the democracies continue to shoulder their responsibilities so the Americans do not decide to wash their hands of the rest of the world, the spread of New Zealand-style unilateralism would diminish the defences of the West as a whole.

Fortunately, the majority of democratic socialist leaders know where their national interests lie. As the French Socialist Foreign Minister, Mr Dumas, said after he met the US Defence Secretary, Mr Weinberger, in Washington last month: "We came to one conclusion at any rate, which is that the principle of security through offensive weapons will remain fundamental for many years yet."

Our own Labor Party will best serve this country's interests if it listens to the cautious and wise Mr Dumas rather than the flamboyant and foolish Mr Lange.

CSO: 4200/779



AUSTRALIA

FIRM EXPLORES PRC SUGAR REFINING PROSPECTS

Melbourne THE AGE in English 2 Mar 85 p 14

[Article by Ali Cromie]

[Text]

Australia's sugar giant, CSR, is exploring prospects in China's sugar refining industry, particularly in the southern province of Fujian.

Under the Australian Government's 'China action plan' Fujian province is one of five regions in China identified as a focus for Australian enterprise.

To research China's sugar industry CSR has linked-up with Davy Agro in Sydney, a division of the Davy McKee organisation, experts in building sugar refineries.

CSR processes 95 per cent of Australia's raw sugar at its five capital city refineries. CSR and Davy Agro have been talking to Chinese officials about their sugar refining needs since late last year.

Company executives have also visited Fujian province to make their own market assessments. A high-level delegation from Fujian province arrives in Australia tomorrow for a two-week trade promotion and it is expected further discussions will be held about sugar venture prospects.

Fujian province is one of the big three cane sugar growing areas in China, producing 331,400 tonnes in 1983. However typical of China's sugar industry refining capacity is limited and many plants are small in scale, backward in equipment and high in production cost.

The potential for sugar refineries in China is enormous. In Xiamen alone, with a population of less than one million, demand for refined sugar is 30,000 tonnes per annum and authorities expect this to rise to 80,000 tonnes per annum, within the next five years.

Xiamen is one of four designated 'special economic zones' in China and is part of Fujian province. Although the Chinese consume little refined sugar personally, demand is strong for refined sugar in the food industry for the likes of lemonade, beer, confectionery and canned food.

For a long time China has had to import sugar to meet its requirements. However China, as part of its modernisation plan, since the late 70s has been trying to improve not only its sugar production but to overhaul existing sugar refineries and build new ones. It has met with some success.

The official China news agency, Xinhua recently said China had 494 sugar mills, capable of turning out 4.75 million tonnes of machine-processed sugar a year.

The authoritative sugar report by London-based C. Zarnikow Ltd, recently estimated China's sugar production for the 1984-85 processing season (which started in December) would be about four million tonnes. This is 450,000 tonnes higher than the previous year.

CSR and Davy Agro are talking to Fujian province officials, not only about the prospects of building and operating a sugar refinery but also exporting Australian raw sugar to China to keep their refineries working when they are not getting local cane sugar supplies. Undoubtedly Queensland's hard-pressed cane growers would welcome a new market for their sugar cane, given the world's sugar glut and low prices.

The interest CSR is showing in the proposal is significant given

the group's sobering experience in its first venture in China. Ready Mixed Concrete Australia, part of CSR, is involved in a joint venture quarry company in the Shenzhen special economic zone in southern China.

Cultural problems, including that the Chinese are not keen on the black stone from the quarry, plus a depressed market, have meant that the quarry has only recently started making profits.

The returns are a long way from paying for Ready Mixed Concrete's \$9 million investment.

It is CSR's Shenzhen experience which is behind the group's enthusiasm to sell its expertise in sugar refining to China under a technology agreement, rather than go into an operating role in a joint venture which would involve capital expenditure.

Of course CSR and David Agro are not the only companies looking at China's sugar industry. The Japanese, who have recently been concluding many joint venture agreements in China, are keen competitors. But any deal with China in the field is expected to take time to eventuate.

The upcoming talks between

Fujian province officials and CSR and David Agro representatives cannot be expected to produce firm conclusions.

While visiting Australia, Fujian province officials will also be talking to executives from Tasmanian-based company, Webster Ltd about several animal husbandry projects the company has already been to China to check-out. Tasmania and Fujian province have a sister-State relationship and for this reason a week-long trade exhibition will be held at the town hall in Hobart, starting next Tuesday.

The trade show will later move to Melbourne and Sydney.

While Fujian province will be displaying products ranging from canned foods to footwear, clothing and textiles, the nine-member official delegation will be trying to interest Australian business in the many projects open to foreign investors in the region.

These include a particle board factory, an angora wool mill, a brewery, a plate glass factory, a knock-down furniture factory and, in the high technology area, an integrated circuit factory and micro-computer joint venture.

CSO: 4200/779

FRENCH POLYNESIA

POLITICAL GROUPS PONDER TERRITORY'S FUTURE

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Apr 85 p 8

[Two-part serial article by Thomas Ferenczi: "The France of the Southern Seas"; second and last part: "Papeete: To Remain What?"]

[Text] Thinking about its future, as the controversy over the issue of its ultimate independence develops, New Caledonia is wondering how to reconcile its membership in the community of southern Pacific countries and its special ties with France.

In Polynesia, the other large French territory in the region, the same debate is now underway, in a slightly different form.

Papeete--"You have to understand that the Polynesians are not Frenchmen," we were told by a homeland Frenchman who had been living in Tahiti for more than 20 years. "The young people look toward Hawaii and California, and the businessmen toward Southeast Asia; for them, Europe is the image of decline, they have been told so often that the future is developing here, in the Pacific."

At the time when New Caledonia is moving with difficulty toward its independence, and when Gaston Flosse, president of the territorial government of Polynesia, fears a "contagion" effect on the other French archipelago in the Pacific, it is important to note that the Polynesians, whether or not supporters of independence, define themselves less and less in relation to the mainland country, and more and more in relation to their international environment.

Independence? There is almost no one in Tahiti who doubts that it is inevitable in the long run. According to Jean Juventin, the mayor of Papeete, it is part of the "mobility of things." Within what time period? "Five years," suggested the person talking to us, who envisages "a state associated" with France, while admitting that the formula is "still ambiguous" in his thinking. An associated state; that is also recommended by Sen. Daniel Millaud, who proposes getting underway as fast as possible the "harmonious emancipation" of the territory in order to avoid the "dramatic situation" experienced by New Caledonia.

Controversy over independence is not new to Tahiti. It develops at the time of each election, and regularly gives rise to the most categorical statements.

A Frenchman from the homeland reminded us: "When I arrived here for the first time, in 1957, they told me: in 6 months this country will be independent..." However, according to the French high commissioner, Alain Ohrel, who has just left Papeete for Angers, the topic had receded during the last few years to the point that the word had become "almost tabou." The events in New Caledonia revived it. A few weeks ago, to general surprise, the Front for Liberation of Polynesia, led by Oscar Temaru, assembled some 2,000 supporters to demonstrate, with two FLNKS delegates at their side, against the French nuclear tests. The most common slogan on the banners was: "Vive l'indépendance!"

### Rejection Phenomenon

What independence? "An unconditional independence, without association, without concession," firmly replied Mr Temaru, a 40-year-old customs agent, the mayor of Faaa, an outlying community of Papeete. Mr Temaru portrays himself as a man of the "rank and file." He said: "The people of the rank and file have a very simple analysis. In New Caledonia, the Canaques are in their home, it is their land, but many Europeans came. The same thing could happen here with us. We must take action before becoming a minority."

The Polynesians are certainly not in danger of becoming a minority for a long time (there are about 20,000 Europeans out of a total population of 166,000 in 1983), but Mr Temaru's remark reveals a concern and even, some say, a "rejection phenomenon": from one census to the next, that is, from 1977 to 1983, the total of Europeans increased faster than the population as a whole (+26 percent, compared to 21.4 percent). According to Gerard Baudchon, director of the Territorial Statistics Institute, this growth "is related more to the balance of the migratory movements from the homeland than to the natural change, which is relatively low compared to that of the other ethnic groups." The supporters of independence also underline the necessity to control immigration in order to slow the arrival of Europeans. Mr Temaru emphasized that the current status of autonomy, though broad, does not give the territory this power of control, which it regards as one of the basic attributes of sovereignty.

Even Gaston Flosse, president of the territorial government, whose party the Tahoeraa Huiraatira, which is close to the Rally for the Republic (RPR), is the only one that officially rejects any prospect of independence, states that more strict control must be exercised and that it must be the responsibility of the territory. He said: "We must avoid having the Polynesians become the minority." The chamber of commerce and industry has proposed that there be a compulsory residency of 10 years in the territory before obtaining a license; this measure being aimed particularly at discouraging New Caledonians who might be tempted to leave Noumea for Papeete. In this connection, in a memorandum addressed to Mr Flosse, it emphasizes that investment control is essential for advancing toward economic independence.

Though he rules out separation from France, Mr Flosse has not hesitated to set the goal, in effect, of "economic independence" of the territory, which leaves open in the long term, as those around him recognize, the hypothesis of political independence. According to Mr Flosse, economic independence will

come about in particular through development of the resources of tourism, the sea, and pearl-cultivation. "We are much better prepared politically than New Caledonia, but much less prepared economically," one of his colleagues explained, citing the remoteness of the raw materials and energy sources, as well as the inadequacy of vocational training.

The economic prerequisite is also the basic element in the program of Ia Mana Te Nunaa (May the People Take Power), the largest of the pro-independence organizations (it has three deputies in the Territorial Assembly), whose secretary general, Jacqui Drollet, says: "What is independence if not a degree of special relations among countries producing something? There is thus some ground to be covered first on the road of economic development. Does Mr Flosse say the same thing? When it comes to speaking, perhaps, but not at the level of reality."

#### Ferment for All Adventures

These concerns that are common to the various parties in any case reflect the desire of Polynesians to better define the territory's role in the southern Pacific. All agree that this reorientation effort must involve serious thought about the French nuclear tests and about the role of the CEP (Pacific Test Center), the symbol of the French presence in Polynesia. This issue is at the center of all analyses and all demands, and, whatever answers are arrived at, it is certainly decisive for the territory's future.

No one disputes that the establishment of the CEP in 1962 has brought prosperity to Polynesia: it has brought it into the modern world and established a Western consumer pattern that will be very difficult to undo.

This is probably one of the reasons why the pro-independence parties, who do not separate their demand from their struggle against the nuclear tests, have thus far remained in a relative minority. Their main complaint against the CEP is that it has destroyed the territory's economic balance by introducing an artificial wealth that has not allowed controlled development. However, the new fact is that there are more and more today who do not benefit from that wealth. Spurred by the demographic growth, a proletariat has developed, particularly around Papeete, where many young people, having come from the islands, attracted by the city, have settled and often do not find work. They are concentrated mainly in Faaa, a kind of community-shantytown of hodge podge development that with its 22,000 people has become the second largest built-up area in the territory, as well as, thanks to its mayor, the bastion of the Polynesian Liberation Front (FLP). A high official confided: "These people are the ferment for all possible adventures."

Mr Flosse is often accused of perpetuating, through his profiteering "management," the social inequalities and thus increasing the risks of an explosion. The pro-independence leaders, though they oppose the CEP's activity, do not call for France to leave. Mr Temaru believes that when Polynesia is independent the relations with the former home country will be better. Mr Drollet rejects an independence of the "type granted to the African countries." He said: "We must take into account the realities," which

are those of "a country lost in the middle of the ocean" and of "a bloc-against-bloc world confrontation." In the view of Mr Drollet, who opposes any "exclusion attitude," "the antinuclear struggle is not an anti-French struggle."

Nevertheless, to avoid the troubles that could lead to a situation similar to that in New Caledonia, no one rules out the possibility that Gaston Flosse may feel obliged, at some time, to assume leadership of a movement for independence. Did he not join the program for internal autonomy after long opposing it? Sen. Daniel Millaud explains that in face of the development of the independentist demand "it is desirable that some moderate individuals get into this groove as guarantors of moderation." Even those close to Mr Flosse suggest that the president of the territorial government is not far from adopting the same reasoning.

Mr Flosse denies it emphatically: "As long as I am here, we will be against independence," he said, reaffirming his preference for autonomy, "full autonomy." Those in his circle limit themselves to observing that in Tahitian the same word can be used to refer to both concepts.

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CSO: 4219/220

INDONESIA

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH OUTGOING AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 26 Mar 85 pp A4, A5

[Text] Jakarta, March 25 (ANTARA)--Australian Ambassador to Indonesia Rawdon Dalrymple said Monday that in the non-government areas, there is still a lot of misunderstanding by both sides over the relations between Australia and Indonesia whereas in the government areas, the relations of the two countries are quite good, such as, improved cooperation in cultural exchange and defence.

In an interview with ANTARA at the end of his office term in Indonesia, Ambassador Dalrymple said to clear up this misunderstanding, there is still a great deal of cultural exchange that can be done, such as, promoting Indonesian study in Australia especially at universities, and vice versa.

He pointed out that Australia has taken steps to enhance these relations, for example, sponsoring the visit by Indonesian journalists to Australia, and promoting the Australian study at universities in Indonesia.

Ambassador Dalrymple hoped that Indonesia would also make more initiatives and efforts to develop the relationship by promoting the Indonesian study in Australia and facilitate Australian journalists to visit the country.

On defence cooperation, he said, it has been developing well, such as, joint military exercises, navy cooperation, joint military trainings by both sides, and an exchange of visits by officials of both countries.

East Timor and PNG Border Issues

Touching on the East Timor and Papua New Guinea border issues, he rejected the opinion that there is an ill-feeling on the Australian side over these issues, stating that the Australian government has been so careful and scrupulous to avoid any Australian interference into the relationship between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. "We will let Indonesia and Papua New Guinea arrange it themselves," he said.

However, Ambassador Dalrymple admitted that Australia was deeply concerned only over the 10,000 Irian Jaya residents crossing the border. "It's natural because Australia has a special sole relationship with Papua New Guinea because of a very close location between each other country," he added.

On East Timor, he said, the Australian government has recognized that the present living standard of the Timorese people has been much improved. "I and other representatives here have a very clear record on Indonesia's achievement in improving the living standard in East Timor when the things were very bad a couple of years ago," he commented.

But up to now, the Australian government has not yet taken a formal step to recognize the East Timor's integrity into Indonesia. According to Ambassador Dalrymple, the Indonesian and Australian governments are now trying to negotiate over this matter because there are still some parliamentary members of the governing Labour Party opposing to this integrity.

He declined to comment on what position the Australian government will take concerning this issue at the next U.N. General Assembly, saying only that it is a high possibility that the resolution against this integrity will not be built on the agenda in the next assembly".

#### Pacific Basin Cooperation

Ambassador Dalrymple said that Australia has been a pioneer and very active in promoting the Pacific basin cooperation, adding the Australian government has gladly welcomed the efforts of ASEAN to gear such a cooperation, such as, opening a dialog between the Asian Pacific countries.

"ASEAN plays a key role. Without its support, there will be no much progress in the cooperation," he said, describing the ASEAN as a driver of a car, and Australia just ride on it.

On the opinion that Australia is more oriented to the "West" rather than the Asian countries, he denied it saying it was a misunderstanding because Australia and its policies have changed a great deal in the past 20 years. Australia's exports to the Asian countries, have diminished by one fifth in that period meanwhile imports from Asian countries, such as, Hongkong, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia have doubled and they have been the great trade partners with Australia.

#### ASEAN and Australian Cooperation

In relation with the technical cooperation between ASEAN and Australia, he said currently there are two suggestions by the Indonesian side to boost such a cooperation, namely, proposing that the Australian universities would take a particular role in planning development of human resources in the region, and asking the Australian government to provide fund assistance for the expansion of an ASEAN and Pacific project on the food processing centre involving peoples from the basin.

According to Ambassador Dalrymple, these suggestions are now being considered by the Australian government.



## Indo-Australian Trade

Touching on the Indonesian and Australian trade, he said it was not so disappointing and even was growing more rapidly because of Indonesia's efforts of driving the non-oil export.

Formally, Indonesia's exports which are dominated by oil, was some time hampered by the same oil products by Australia.

But now Indonesia is making efforts to diversity its exports. In this framework, he said Australia will help Indonesia to promote its non-oils on the Australian market.

"Particularly, about the manufactured goods, such as, clothing garments and footwares, Indonesian products have not yet fully penetrated the Australian market which has so far been dominated by other Asian countries," he said.

He added it was due to the uncompetitiveness of the Indonesian products but he was hopeful that Indonesia's exports grow quickly by overcoming the price problem by the present Indonesian government's efforts of reducing port expenses in the country.

Besides, Indonesia's cement is also promising to be launched into the Australian market, especially those produced by the Kupang-based plant.

He said the five-percent target is adequately enough to boost the Australian and Indonesian trade.

According to data at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, in 1983/84, Indonesia's export to Australia stood at Aus \$300 million while Australia's exports to Indonesia reached Aus.\$396 million, making a surplus of Aus \$96 million in favour of Australia.

But up to the nine first months of 1984, Australia's exports to Indonesia just stood at Aus\$250 million, but Indonesia's exports to Australia bounced to Aus\$384 million, making a big change in favour of Indonesia. This surplus was due to Indonesia's oil exports.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

SINAR HARAPAN ON INTERVIEW WITH WU XUEQIAN

BK041555 Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 25 Apr 85 pp 1, 12

[Text] Bandung, 24 April--PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian says he does not know for sure whether any Indonesian Chinese businessmen have invested capital in the PRC. Speaking at an exclusive interview with SINAR HARAPAN at Bandung's Panghegar Hotel on Tuesday night [23 April] on the issue of capital investment in the country of 1 billion people, Wu Xueqian said that since the PRC adopted an open door policy in the economic field, it is true that many foreign investors have invested capital in the country. Referring to overseas Chinese investors, whom he described as ethnic Chinese with foreign nationalities, Wu Xueqian disclosed that these investors in general hail from the USA and ASEAN countries, such as Singapore and Thailand.

When asked to comment on foreign press reports that Indonesia's Liem Sioe Liong, alias Sudono Salim, has invested capital in the PRC, Wu Xueqian said: "I do not know for sure." However, Wu Xueqian is well aware of the fact that Liem Sioe Liong hails from Fujian. "But whether or not he has invested in his homeland, I do not know for sure. It is true that the PRC had adopted an open door policy," Wu Xueqian said.

According to the PRC foreign minister, the PRC government gives similar treatment to both overseas Chinese investors and other foreign investors in accordance with the existing laws on foreign capital investment.

When asked to comment on the PRC government's offer to provide tax relief to overseas Chinese businessmen, Wu Xueqian replied that such a policy has actually never existed, because as far as capital investment is concerned, the PRC adopts the principles of equality and mutual benefit. According to Wu Xueqian, the PRC government delegates authority to local administrations to map out and implement their own policies on capital investment. For this reason, he assumes that Liem Sioe Liong must have made direct contact with the local authorities in his land of origin. "However, I do not know much about this matter because economic affairs are not my concern," he said, adding that overseas Chinese businessmen, who invested in the PRC, generally operate in small and medium-sized undertakings, such as hotels. They are usually from Hong Kong and Singapore.

On the possibility of direct trade links between the two countries, Wu Xueqian believes that there are many types of commodity goods needed by the PRC from Indonesia and vice versa.

At the end of the interview, Wu Xueqian was asked about the condition of the former Indonesian embassy complex in Beijing. He assured that the whole complex is still intact. "I do not know the details, but the housing complex is still there. This issue can be easily solved. If both countries normalize diplomatic ties, this issue will be solved through consultations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. This issue will be one of the concrete problems to be solved after normalization of relations," Wu Xueqian concluded.

CSO: 4213/223

INDONESIA

EAST JAVAN MEETING TOLD OF THREAT FROM SHI'ITES

BK031127 Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 25 Apr 85 p 12

[Text] Surabaya, KOMPAS--The commander of the Brawijaya 5th Regional Military Command, Major General Sularso, speaking in his capacity as the East Java region special executive officer, has said that the security situation in East Java is still unstable. The threat to security is seen from the recent terrorist acts in the province. The commander made these remarks when addressing East Java ulamas, intellectuals, leaders of sociopolitical forces, and young people recently.

This was disclosed by the information chief of the East Java special executive office Lieutenant Colonel Sonny Baksono at a news conference in Surabaya on Tuesday [23 April]. The threat to security in East Java comes from left-wing and right-wing extremists as well as frustrated groups. These three groups are felt to have undermined the implementation of national development and stability.

Their acts of terrorism can pose a serious threat to security. As an example, an explosion on Christmas day in Malang caused damage to the campus of the Southeast Asia Bible Seminary and the Kayutangan Catholic church. Another example was the bomb explosion aboard the Pemudi Express bus as Wongsorejo village, Banyuwangi, on 16 March.

According to Sonny Baksono, the perpetrators of the bombings in Malang and Banyuwangi were followers of the Shi'ite extremists. Two persons were involved in the Malang bombing--one of whom has been arrested--while the perpetrators of the Pemudi Express bus blast consisted of four persons. Three of them died in the blast and one was arrested. According to the confessions made by the suspect, Aka, the explosion in Malang was the work of his group, while the bomb that exploded aboard the bus was initially intended to be used in Sumbawa. However, the interrogators believe that the bomb was being transported to Denpasar. If they had exploded the bomb in Denpasar, Bali, the negative impact would have been more serious. Sonny added: "Aka confessed that the bombing of the Borobudur Temple some time ago was carried out by his group." He also disclosed that ulamas attending the meeting with the 5th regional military commander had expressed the hope that the Shi'ite extremist sect would be banned because Shi'ite extremist teachings contradict the Islamic teachings prevailing in Indonesia. The Shi'ite political movement has international connection and

is aimed at undermining the authority of the Indonesian government and the Pancasila state ideology. The military commander himself urged ulamas to teach people to distinguish true Islamic teachings from the Shi'ite extremist teachings. Sonny disclosed that the commander's call received an enthusiastic response from the ulamas.

Before delivering his speech, the 5th Brawijaya regional military commander presented citations to six members of the public credited for their action to safeguard security in their area. They succeeded in arresting one of the bus bombers at Wongsorejo village.

CSO: 4213/223

INDONESIA

MP CALLS FOR INCREASED AID TO AFGHAN PEOPLE

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Mar 85 p A1

[Text] Jakarta, March 19 (ANTARA)--Presidium General Chairman of the Indonesia-Afghanistan People's Solidarity Committee Amin Iskandar called on peace and freedom loving peoples of the world to increase their aid to the fighting people of Afghanistan.

The organization in its statement to the press here Tuesday also appealed to the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Organization Conference, the Rabitah Alam Islamy as well as all the peoples of the world to stop the occupation of Afghanistan by Russian troops.

"Stop the massacre and the annihilation of the people of Afghanistan which have been going on for years now", the statement said.

The Committee also pointed out that the destruction of the Afghanistan people not only went beyond the limits of humanity and was grossly contrary to international law and conventions, but also represented a new reflection of the cruelty never known before in the history of human kind.

More than a million Afghanistan people had been killed in the holy war and five million others had sought refuge in the neighbouring countries, said Amin Iskandar, who is also member of the House foreign affairs commission.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

# PRESIDENT CHARGES MURDANI WITH SAFEGUARDING NEW PORT POLICY

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Mar 85 p A10

[Text] Jakarta, March 21 (ANTARA)--President Soeharto has instructed Armed Forces/Security Commander General L.BH Moerdani to safeguard the implementation of the new government port policy which will be announced in the near future.

President Soeharto announced his instruction when he received Communications Minister Roesmin Nuryadin, Armed Forces Commander General Moerdani and Sea-communication Director General F. Habibie at Bina Graha Presidential office here Thursday.

After the meeting with the President, Communications Minister Roesmin Nuryadin told reporters that port policy changes will have an impact on people or organizations who so far had utilized the weaknesses of the previous policy.

The new government policy will be announced by Presidential decree in the near future, the minister of communications said.

The new policy is necessary and has a very important significance for stepping up non-oil/non-gas exports, he added. "There is no other choice if we want to maintain the rate of development of the country", he said.

## Safeguard

Meanwhile, Armed Forces Commander General L. BH Moerdani on the same occasion said he had been instructed by the president to safeguard the implementation of the new policy.

The new port policy, he said, could bring drastic changes so that there is a possibility that upheavals would due to the reactions of persons or organisations whose earnings are going to be reduced or altogether abolished.

These persons or groups had in the past taken advantage of existing weaknesses in port management.

In this connection, Gen. Moerdani said, "I would like to remind the public not to be misled by issues and rumours raised by those whose selfish interests are abolished by the introduction of the new policy for the ports."

The government is determined to carry out the new policy consistently and impartially, Gen. Moerdani said.

Minister Roesmin Nuryadin said the new policy will involve all the important aspects of port management, including the role of the port administrator.

In addition to his traditional role as coordinator of port activities, the port administrator will also be given authority as "commander" to ensure smooth operations, the minister said.

He added that President Soeharto also instructed him to put into order operations in airports in addition to sea ports.

Asked by reporters how far the decrease of port fees will be through the application of the new policy, Minister Roesmin Nuryadin said "it is still too early to explain now", adding "the fees would certainly be much lower than the present ones."

He further said "the new policy would possibly have a great impact on people why so far used to smuggle goods through the ports, because the Armed Forces Commander has been instructed to safeguard the implementation of this policy which will be announced shortly."

CSO: 4200/762



INDONESIA

INVESTMENT BOARD TOLD TO CREATE MORE FAVORABLE INVESTMENT CLIMATE

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 Mar 85 p A4

[Text] Jakarta, March 21 (ANTARA)--President Soeharto has told Acting Chairman of the Investment Board Ginanjar Kartasasmita to help bring about a more favourable climate for capital investment by improving the working efficiency of the board.

The improvement includes better service to the investors, Ginanjar told the press after meeting President Soeharto here Thursday in the company of Minister/State Secretary Sudharmono.

He admitted that the main obstacle in capital investment in Indonesia was red tape, which included the high port charges.

Without these obstructing factors, he said, Indonesia could be a paradise for investors, particularly because of its facilities, political stability, favourable economic growth rate, foreign exchange traffic without restrictions, richness in raw materials and the relatively low labour costs.

He said further that the government will give priority to capital investment in upstream industrial sectors and in those with products mainly for export.

When asked what he thought of the effect of the abolition of tax holiday on the slowing down of investments these days, Ginanjar, who is also Junior Minister for Promotion of Domestic Products, said the impact, if any, will be psychological rather than economic.

He said the abolition had already been compensated with lower tax rates, namely 35% while the previous rate stood at 45%.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

ROUND-THE-CLOCK SERVICE AT SURABAYA PORT

Surabaya SURABAYA POST in Indonesian 26 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] It is no longer necessary to contact various offices and posts at Tanjung Perak port to obtain services as these functions have been integrated and are being handled at one location.

Reportedly, the objective of the Directorate General of Sea Communications is to create a system that will speed up the work and improve the quality of service in the port area, and to try to gain the attention and approval of the users of port services.

Apparently a serious effort is being made to regulate and improve the quality of the work that is carried out in the port area. A sign saying "Administrative Fees Are Not Collected - Please Do Not Give Anything to Employees," was put up at the P4JP [Port Services Planning and Control Center/Pusat Perencanaan dan Pengendalian Pelayanan Jasa Pelabuhan] office a few days ago. Another sign reads "Please Report to the Coordinator If You Do Not Receive Fast Service."

The public liaison office of the zone III office of Perumtel [State Telecommunications Corporation/Perusahaan Umum Telekomunikasi] in Surabaya reports that the users of port services can now receive service at any time. Offices are open and operations are carried out on a 24-hour basis, although employees are given time off to rest, eat, pray and bathe.

But according to Drs Rory I. Tupelu, the head of the public liaison office, while the service facilities have been upgraded they are not yet being fully utilized by government authorities and other parties.

Customs is moving to improve the quality of the work it performs by strengthening the regulation of its apparatus, according to S. Soewardjo, the head of the general section.

Formerly, when someone wanted a pilot to steer a ship it was necessary to contact the pilot service. Persons who needed workers had to contact the labor office, and persons who had questions about ship routes, mooring, etcetera had to go to the harbormaster's office.

But now arrangements for all of these services can be made by visiting one location, the P4JP office. This office will make arrangements for mooring, water, labor, harbormaster services, payment of port fees, data and computer services, pilots, port and ocean traffic services, and other services.

In addition, Drs Syarifudin Suiz, the head of zone office IV of the Directorate of Sea Communications, has said that all conditions that impeded ocean transport services are to be eliminated. For example, tests are being made to determine if the use of a checkpoint to monitor the arrival and departure of shipping can be eliminated.

5458

CSO: 4213/206

INDONESIA

CENTRAL SULAWESI'S EXPORTS DECLINING

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 18 Mar 85 p A8

[Text] Palu, March 18 (ANTARA)--Export from Central Sulawesi during the 1980-1984 period, which consisted of logs, sawn timber, copra, rattan and sea products, showed a continuous decline.

Data, obtained by ANTARA from the Central Sulawesi provincial trade office in Paul Monday, showed that since 1980 (when the province reached the highest export figures) until 1984 exports had shown a continuous decline.

In 1980 exports recorded a volume of 375,464.19 M3 of wood (logs and sawn timber) and 1,764.64 tons of non-timber products (copra and sea products) worth US\$35,988,575.27.

In 1981 exports declined to 283,901.12 M3 of timber and 3,270 tons of non-timber with a value of US\$33,512,236.75; in 1982 they stood at 110,832.65 M3 of timber and 5,288.90 tons of non-timber with a value of US\$27,851,102.67.

In 1983 there was a small increase to 125,189.68 M3 of timber and 12,469 tons of non-timber worth US\$27,522,521.81.

In 1984 exports declined even more to 98,589.94 M3 of wood and 8,912 tons of non-wood products with a value of US\$22,896,443.36.

The head of the Central Sulawesi provincial trade office, Drs. MK. Soemarsono, had said that exports from this province had caused some anxiety.

Business circles here said that current export difficulties were mainly caused by lack of transport facilities and the very high export expenses because exports had to go through Ujungpadang port.

Another problem faced by the province is that its exports are dominated by log exports, consisting almost 80 per cent of its overall exports.

Out of the 98,583.94 M3 of its wood exports in 1984, 70,231.04 M3 consisted of logs. Exports from this province are expected to decline further, mainly after the issue of decision of the minister of trade to stop the export of logs as from 1985.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

400,000 TONS OF FERTILIZER TO BE EXPORTED THIS YEAR

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 20 Mar 85 p A8

[Text] Jakarta, March 2 (ANTARA)--Indonesia may be able to export around 400,000 tons of urea fertilizer among others to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Hongkong this year, Ir. Suhadi, director of production of PT. Pupuk Kujang, said when he received the participants of the Second Trade Consultation Forum on Tuesday.

With the operation of the Kalimantan Timur and Iskandar Muda fertilizer plants, Indonesia will face a surplus of about 400,000 tons of urea this year and this will enable Indonesia to supply fertilizer to the neighboring country, Suhadi said.

Indonesia now has six fertilizer companies, consisting of the Sriwijaya fertilizer plant with a capacity of 1.62 million tons/year in Palembang, the ASEAN fertilizer plant in Lhok Seumawe with a capacity of 500,000 tons/year the Iskandar Muda fertilizer plant in Lhok Seumawe with a capacity of 500,000 tons/year, PT. Pupuk Kujang in Cikampek with a capacity of 577,000 tons/year, the Kaltim fertilizer plant with a capacity of 1.14 million tons and the Gresik fertilizer plant with a capacity of 450,000 tons/year.

To cope with the excessive supply of fertilizer in the country, the Indonesian Association of Fertilizer Producers will handle the coordination of fertilizer exports this year so as to maintain the price of Indonesian fertilizer on the international market at the proper level.

The price of urea fertilizer on the world market is at present about US \$160,000/ton this year, showing a decline compared with US\$180,000/ton last year.

The fall in the price of fertilizer on the world market is mainly due to the current prolonged winter in the United States and Europe, that has forced countries in those regions to release their fertilizer stock to the world market.

P. T. Pupuk Kujang, a government-backed fertilizer producer located in Cikampek, West Java, exported its product for the first time in 1982 and for the second time in 1983. The company, which was set up in 1978, exported

20,000 tons of fertilizer to the Philippines in 1982 and 60,000 tons of fertilizer to Hongkong in 1983.

The quality and price of fertilizer from PT. Pupuk Kujang are competitive enough on the export market, as most basic materials needed for the production of fertilizer by the plant are abundantly available in the country, according to Ir. Suhadi.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

TRADE SURPLUS WITH NEW ZEALAND

Jakarta ANTARA FINANCIAL & ECONOMIC NEWS 25 Mar 85 p 3

Jakarta, March 24 (ANTARA).-- The balance of trade between New Zealand and Indonesia has in the past five years been in favour of the latter, data obtained from the Trade Department show.

Indonesia's exports to and imports from New Zealand respectively rose in value from US\$ 50.95 million and US\$ 42.66 million in 1979 to US\$ 252.85 million and US\$ 95.98 million in 1982.

Thus the surplus recorded by Indonesia in trade with that neighbouring country soared from US\$ 8.28 million in 1979 to US\$ 157.17 million in 1982. But the surplus dropped to US\$ 142.36 million in 1983, with Indonesia's exports to and imports from that country respectively worth US\$ 214.98 million and US\$ 72.40 million.

In the first ten months of 1984, the value of Indonesia's exports to and imports from New Zealand reached US\$ 174.74 million and US\$ 65.27 million, a surplus of US\$ 109.47 million Indonesia.

Based on the data, the surplus Indonesia has recorded in trade with New Zealand in the past five years reached the highest amount in 1982, when it stood at US\$ 157.17 million.

Bilateral trade between Indonesia and New Zealand has so far been running based on a bilateral trade agreement signed Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja and New Zealand Foreign Minister Talboys in Wellington 13, 1978.

Indonesia's commodities supplied to New Zealand mainly consist of oil, natural gas, coffee, tea, textile/clothing and handicraft products, while New Zealand's exports to Indonesia mainly comprise powdered milk, butter and slaughter cattle.

According to the spokesman of the Trade Department, Indonesia is at present endeavouring to step up trade with New Zealand by exploring the possibility of exporting some other export commodities, such as plywood and furniture to that state.

In the framework of the effort to promote trade and economic relations between Indonesia and New Zealand, Minister of Trade and Tourism of New Zealand Mike Moore is to visit Indonesia this month.

He is expected to arrive here on March 27, 1985, as the guest of the Indonesian Trade Minister Rachmat Saleh.- (T-A12/G06/Q24).-

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

SUHARTO INAUGURATES FERTILIZER PLANT IN ACEH

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 20 Mar 85 p A4

[Text] Lhoksemawe, March 20 (ANTARA)--President Soeharto Wednesday morning inaugurated the PT Iskandar Muda fertilizer plant in Lhoksemawe, Aceh, the first fertilizer plant built through the utilization of Indonesian management and construction services.

The factory is a proof that Indonesians are capable of tackling activities in the fields of construction planning and industrial engineering, the Head of State said in his address at the inauguration of the plant.

The President further said the workers were obviously capable of completing the construction of the factory several months faster than originally scheduled and cheaper than planned. Its operational condition is obviously also satisfactory, the President Soeharto.

The construction of PT Iskandar Muda fertilizer plant was started March 19, 1982. Its urea fertilizer production is capable of reaching 570,000 tons per year, and of ammonia fertilizers 330,000 tons per year. Its construction costs which were originally scheduled at US\$424.42 million reached only US\$337 million.

Indonesian command in engineering and construction should be further intensified, the President said, "so that in future more factories will be built by our own people through their knowledge in the fields of construction planning and engineering", he added.

Through completion of the fertilizer plant, Indonesia will be capable of increasing its urea fertilizer installed capacity to 4.47 million tons per year.

Urea fertilizer production in 1985 is capable of meeting domestic requirements for food crops, plantations and industry and there will be even a surplus for export, the President said.

In another part of his address the President said that although priorities had to be determined, the national development should remain an integrated development, meaning development in one sector should be capable of supporting development in other sectors to achieve the greatest benefit for the Indonesian people.



Industrial development is therefore also directed to stimulate regional development, the Head of State said.

The Lhoksemawe region is consciously planned to become an integrated industrial area where important industries have been set up, such as the liquefied natural gas plant, the fertilizer plant and the paper factory. Other industries will be set up here, the President said.

The Presidential entourage to the inauguration consisted among others of Minister of Industries Hartarto, Coordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs Ali Wardhana, Junior Minister/Cabinet Secretary Drs. Mardiono and Armed Forces Commander L. B. Moerdani.

The President and party returned to Jakarta Wednesday noon via Medan.

CSO: 4200/762

INDONESIA

OVERDUE LOANS IN MASS AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

Jakarta TEMPO in Indonesian 23 Mar 85 pp 77, 78

[Excerpts] The boom in paddy production has not been accompanied by an increase in the repayment of farm loans. Indeed, total arrears for credit issued under the Bimas and Inmas agricultural programs for the production of paddy and secondary food crops tend to grow larger from year to year. For whatever reason, over the last 3 years the total new arrears of persons receiving these inexpensive loans has reached a figure of 75 billion rupiah. And when the new arrears are combined with the old arrears then the total amount of government funds that is in the hands of the farmers comes to 173 billion rupiah.

Apparently the Coordination Team for the Recovery of Mass Agricultural Program Credit has been having some difficulty collecting the arrears. As of December of last year the coordination team had only collected 46 billion rupiah, leaving an outstanding balance of more than 127 billion rupiah. And the amount in arrears may again balloon because the farmers will have difficulty selling their unhusked rice at the base price of 175 rupiah per kg before the main harvest in April and May. Suhaedi, the director general of food crop agriculture, last week appealed to farmers to put on the brakes in selling their unhusked rice so as to keep the base price from dropping.

But it is not easy for the farmers to respond to this appeal. After the harvest the small farmers in particular will have many needs, ranging from the repayment of their loans to finding money for the schooling of their children. So it is not surprising that many farmers will want to get rid of their paddy when the main harvest comes, even if it means having to sell it at prices below the base price. And Solihin G.P., the head of the coordination team, will have to calculate what effect the sale of paddy below the base price will have on the effort to collect overdue loans that have been made under the Bimas and Inmas agricultural programs.

The coordination team uses a number of methods to get into the pockets of delinquents. Police custodial vans are used to intimidate them, and some delinquents are taken to court. But not all of the delinquents are farmers. Twenty-seven percent of the people who have overdue loans are not farmers, and

some of these people are village officials. Solihin said that the seriousness of this problem became more apparent after the coordination team found that the administrative system used by the village units of Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), the distributors of funds, was not well organized.

The effect of this can be easily imagined. Some farmers have payments that are recorded on their cards but not on the books of the BRI village units. And it often happens that loan payments are only credited as a payment on interest and not on principal. Farmers also use personal property, motorcycles for example, to repay their debts, and these are then used by local officials for their own purposes. Even the KUDs [Village Unit Cooperative/Koperasi Unit Desa] tend to be disorganized. Solihin said that only 10 of the 37 KUDs in Garut have a top rating and that the rest are rated average or poor. "The KUDs themselves must be upgraded so they will not be the problem and embarrassment they now are," he said.

Many have been victimized by and many have taken advantage of this confusion. For example, Katto Tappa, a farmer in Maros district, South Sulawesi who has used Bimas credit since 1973, says that ordinarily an official comes after the harvest to collect payment but that no official has come for a year now. He said that he does not know exactly how much he owes since the records are kept by the official. He also said that he does not feel that it is necessary to go to the BRI as there are more than 190,000 farmers like him who are billions of rupiah in arrears to the BRI.

The government also is faced with mounting arrears from farmers who are participating in nine mass agricultural programs that are not connected with the Bimas and Inmas programs. The cumulative arrears for the 10 programs, part of which is from the period before 1981, exceed 174 billion rupiah, and there are about 8 million farmers and stockbreeders participating in the programs. Farmers and stockbreeders in West Java and North Sumatra have the largest arrears, 53 billion and 15 billion rupiah respectively. Kamardy Arief, the BRI executive director, says that the government has no intention of writing off the arrears. "We will make a continuing effort to collect the debt owed by the delinquents, going from door to door," he said.

Reportedly, the BRI will help farmers market their produce so as to prevent the creation of new arrears. Also, farmers who refused to plant certain varieties of paddy and were thus ineligible for credit will now be permitted to borrow from the BRI at a 12 percent interest rate, and the target system has been eliminated. So there has been a further relaxation of the rules.

5458

CSO: 4213/206

INDONESIA

REDUCTION OF INVESTMENT LICENSING REQUIREMENTS

Jakarta SUARA KARYA in Indonesian 26 Mar 85 pp 1, 11

[Text] Ginandjar Kartasasmita, the temporary acting chairman of the BKPM [Capital Investment Coordination Board/Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal], announced on Monday [25 March] that a simplified investment licensing procedure will take effect on 1 April 1985.

The number of stipulated requirements have been reduced from 25 to 14 under the simplified procedure.

It is no longer necessary to provide letters of authorization for the handling and signing of applications, regional mining permits, forestry agreements and confirmation from the Department of Forestry, copies of agreements on the use of foreign technology and skills, block plans approved by the Urban Planning Service for housing, office buildings and hotels, licenses for land use rights, land reserve directives from provincial governors, designation of fishing areas from the Directorate General of Fishing, pro forma invoices to determine the quantity and value of imported machinery, proof of the deposit of capital by investors, and feasibility studies and clearances for foreign partners from Indonesian embassies.

The applications of prospective investors must still include their company's act of incorporation together with any amendments, taxpayer's number, an analysis of the production process (flowchart), a description of efforts that will be made to prevent environmental pollution, a letter from the minister of forestry confirming the availability of logs if the company is a wood processing industry, a letter from the head of the Regional BKPM or Agricultural Service confirming the availability of produce if the company plans to process agricultural products, a letter from the head of the Regional BKPM confirming that land will be available for agriculture, a directive from the minister of forestry converting forest concession land into agricultural land, a security clearance from the Department of Defense and Security for companies that operate in certain areas, articles of association, drafts of joint venture agreements and technical assistance agreements, and bank references.

Ginandjar said that with the implementation of the simplified procedure, the BKPM's only assignment will be to handle strategic matters and to concentrate on capital investment policy. "The BKPM is not a board that administers licenses," he said.

The drastic change in the capital investment policy is expected to reassure prospective investors and to remove any doubts investors may have about making investments. With the new policy the investors will be sure that the investments they make will be profitable, he said.

Ginandjar said that the simplified procedure is intended to encourage investments and that it will eliminate requirements that have been asked for but are no longer needed. It also will reduce the frequency of contact between businessmen and the BKPM about the handling of various licenses and encourage the joint or automatic issuance of licenses.

By way of example he said that if a Model I application for a new project is complete when submitted then it will no longer be necessary to obtain a provisional letter of approval. Instead, a permanent letter of approval can be obtained if it is a domestic capital investment project or a notification of presidential approval if it is a foreign capital investment project.

He said that this will save the time of businessmen as they will not have to contact the BKPM. Also, under the new system a permanent letter of approval or notification of presidential approval can be obtained within no more than 6 weeks after the Model I application is received. Formerly the process took at least 3 months.

Ginandjar also announced that certain fees connected with the use of foreign workers have been eliminated. These include a 1,000 rupiah fee on applications for the use of new foreign workers and a 4,000 rupiah fee on applications for work permits for foreign workers.

He said that the \$400 contribution to the education and training fund that is charged when a foreign worker overstays his allotted time in Indonesia also has been eliminated, but noted that tighter controls will be placed on the issuance of work permits and supervision in the field.

"Foreign workers will be sent home if it is found that they have overstayed their allotted time," he said. The objective here is to support the program for the Indonesianization of manpower.

He noted, however, that consideration can be given to extending the work permits of certain types of foreign workers who are in short supply and that no fee will be charged in these cases.

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CSO: 4213/206

INDONESIA

CATHOLIC STUDENT ASSOCIATION ACCEPTS PANCASILA

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 21 Mar 85 pp 1, 7

[Text] THE PMKRI [Catholic College Students Association of the Republic of Indonesia/Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia] has accepted the principles of the Pancasila and incorporated them in a constitution approved recently by the organization at its 15th congress in Cibubur, Jakarta.

A copy of the preamble to the new constitution was submitted to Dr Gafur, the minister for youth and sports, at the Youth Building in Jakarta on Wednesday [20 March] by Markus Mali, the chairman of the PMKRI presidium, and the leaders of PMKRI branches in Medan, Manado, Kupang, Ujungpandang and Pematang Siantar.

Markus Mali said that it was no problem for the PMKRI to decide whether to accept or reject the Pancasila, since the national ideology is something that is built into every member.

He also said that the PMKRI's act of accepting the Pancasila was an expression of its own consciousness and not the result of any pressure or coercion. "And what has been given the minister of home affairs and minister of youth and sports is the PMKRI's original concept, which was established through the congress and in conferences of the executive committee," he added.

By way of substantiating his remarks he noted that the concept was unanimously accepted by the 20 branches that attended the congress. The PMKRI held its 15th congress in Cibubur from 8 to 16 March.

Build Cooperation

The minister of youth and sports said that he was enthusiastic about the action taken by the PMKRI. "And it is hoped that subsequently the PMKRI can continue to build cooperation with other youth organizations and the KNPI [Indonesian National Youth Committee/Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia] in expanding the observance of the principles of the Pancasila while adhering to the teachings of religion and their religious convictions," he said. "The factor of religion will strengthen the position of our national ideology," he added.

Dr Gafur also said that the strengthening of devotion to The One God will lead to the creation of highly capable cadres who have deep convictions about society, the nation and the state.

He also asked all echelons of the PMKRI to participate in the efforts that are being made to overcome various national challenges, such as the population problem, unemployment and the creation of jobs.

5458

CSO: 4213/206

INDONESIA

# SUHARTO TERMS PANCASILA UPGRADING COURSES SUCCESSFUL

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 85 pp A5, A6

[Text] Jakarta, March 25 (ANTARA)--President Soeharto saw past P-4 (Pancasila upgrading) courses as successful and that the six-year old BP-7 (P-4 guiding body) has done its job properly.

The President made the statement when receiving BP-7 and P-4 officials at his Bina Graha office here Monday. The Pancasila upgrading course officials met the President for his guidance and directives in connection with their working conference here March 25-28.

As an example of the success, the President pointed to the recent Tanjung Priok riots, which would have spread to other parts of the country if the people did not know what was right or wrong on basis of the Pancasila, BP-7 chief Sarwo Edhie Wibowo told the press quoting the President as saying, after the meeting.

He said about 6,000,000 Indonesians had followed P-4 courses in various patterns and levels. Almost 100 per cent of the civil servants throughout the country have followed the course, he added.

He further explained that BP-7 in judging the success of the courses should not use academic standards, but rather find indications in the behaviour of the people.

Sarwo Edhie said the lack of funds posed the most crucial problem in holding P-4 courses for the general public, especially those organized by public bodies.

CSO: 4200/762



INDONESIA

APPOINTMENT OF COLONIAL EMPLOYEES TO CIVIL SERVICE

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 27 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Pursuant to the provisions of Presidential Directive No 65 of 1984, the government will appoint as civil servants all former military and police personnel of the Portuguese administration who are still in East Timor and who received a daily or monthly wage from the colonial government.

As of mid-March, 3,443 former personnel of the colonial government had registered with the Personnel Bureau, East Timor Zone and Regional Secretariat for this purpose.

Engr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, the governor of East Timor, in commenting on the presidential directive said that in a humanitarian sense and in keeping with the principles of the Pancasila, Indonesia's national ideology, the appointments represented a commendation of and an award to the people of East Timor from the government.

In an interview with a SINAR HARAPAN reporter at his office on Saturday of last week, the governor said the appointments continue the efforts made on behalf of and the attention given to the people of East Timor by the government since 1976. He noted that civil servants were first appointed by a directive of the governor in 1979, and that another 4,000 were appointed in 1983 under a directive that was retroactive to 1 April 1982.

He said that East Timor now has about 10,000 personnel who were appointed even though they did not meet the qualifications usually required of civil servants in other provinces.

"When we look at the personnel rosters for civil servants in the colonial era we find that there were less than 2,000 permanent full-time personnel, but now we have greater opportunities because the government is appointing people who were not permanent full-time personnel to be civil servants," he said.

Minimum Requirements

The governor said that even though the presidential directive is an award to the people of East Timor, there are still minimum requirements that must be met.

For example, there must be proof that the persons concerned were actually employed by the Portuguese colonial government. Noting that there were some persons who wanted to register and be recognized as civil servants even though they had only worked for the colonial government a few days, he said that they did not understand the requirements.

"This is illogical and cannot be done. And it would not be good for the region itself if all East Timorese were to become civil servants. As a ratio of the population, the number of civil servants in East Timor is among the highest in Indonesia," he said.

#### 705 To Be Appointed

A survey team is now studying the papers of the registrants. It will select 705 former employees of the colonial government who meet the requirements for appointment as civil servants.

The team is headed by A.B. Sarijo, the East Timor zone and regional secretary, and the team secretary is I Made Mendra, the head of the Personnel Bureau, East Timor Zone and Regional Secretariat. Team members are persons of local extraction who will be able to ascertain the validity of claims made by registrants.

5458

CSO: 4213/206

NEW ZEALAND

# PRIME MINISTER SEES U.S. ATTEMPT TO OUST GOVERNMENT

Christchurch THE PRESS in English 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] NZPA-AP London--The Prime Minister, Mr Lange, yesterday in effect accused the United States of attempting to oust him from office and implied that Washington was using methods akin to totalitarianism in its nuclear quarrel with New Zealand.

He told a jammed news conference in London that American actions to scale down its co-operation with New Zealand in defence and Intelligence were "designed to embarrass us, to cause morale in the defence services to be affected."

Mr Lange said of the United States policy: "It is generally seen by the Government as pursuing once more the strategy of having the situation in New Zealand changed to the point where a Government is elected that will welcome nuclear weapons to New Zealand.

Mr Lagne, who was told of the United States actions on Tuesday during a visit to Los Angeles, was asked by a Dutch reporter: "How can a small nation like yours and mine resist the pro-nuclear pressure of the big Powers?"

He replied: "The type of pressure which large Powers can exert over the small ones is seen by the people in a small democracy as being somewhat akin to the very totalitarianism we are supposed to be fighting against."

Economic or defence sanctions could "cause an upsurge of support for the (anti-nuclear) policy--maybe an almost unrealistic nationalism can develop... dearest allies should take (this) into account in making utterances abroad."

Mr Lange declared at the outset of his European visit yesterday that he would not "buy into any fight" over N.A.T.O.

Mr Lange offered a conciliatory message to the British Government, saying his anti-nuclear policy "need not be a matter of moment at all" between London and Washington.

While sticking firmly to New Zealand's defence policy, he played down the British Government disapproval which emerged last week when the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, said she was disappointed in his anti-nuclear approach. Mr Lange said after meeting a Foreign Office Junior Minister, Baroness Young, yesterday that he was receiving messages from the British Government that New Zealand's policy "is not an issue which would be the cause of any tension".

NEW ZEALAND

REPORTAGE ON U.S. 'CONSUMER BACKLASH' OVER SHIP BAN

Multimillion Dollar Exports

Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 1 Mar 85 p 20

[Text] The label "New Zealand" is being taken off this country's exports to the United States as patriotic American consumers turn on a nation they see as anti-American.

Multi-million-dollar exports of fish, beer and ice-cream have been the first to suffer from the consumer backlash against the Government decision to ban nuclear-armed warships from New Zealand ports.

Ice-cream sold under the "New Zealand Farm" label has been banned by the biggest American supermarket chain, Safeways.

Mr Graham France, general manager of the Nelson fishing company Sealord, which also sells through Safeways, said the supermarket chain was headed by a former top official of the United States Navy.

Sealord's American agent has taken the New Zealand name off the labels of the popular orange roughy fish, which earned Sealord almost \$15 million from the United States last year.

Two Factors

And Lion Breweries, which sells Americans \$5 million worth of Steinlager beer a year in bottles displaying pictures of New Zealand, is reconsidering its labels.

In the past few weeks, Lion has had to overcome two strongly negative factors--first a strike which has greatly reduced the availability of Steinlager, and now the nuclear crisis.

The dispute could hardly have erupted at a worse time for New Zealand.

The deputy secretary of Trade and Industry, Mr Ted Woodfield, is in Washington this week for talks over the American insistence that New Zealand carry out its treaty obligations to end export incentives by the end of this month.

He has the job of persuading the United States to accept the Government plan to phase the incentives out during the next two years.

The Dairy Board chairman, Mr Jim Graham, and general manager, Mr Bernie Knowles, are also in Washington this week for talks with State Department and agricultural officials.

A spokesman for the board in Wellington, Mr Neville Martin, said the pair were trying to talk the United States into rejoining the dairy agreement.

New Zealand sold the United States \$84 million worth of dairy products--mostly cheese--and \$139 million worth of fish during 1984.

But by far this country's biggest seller in America is meat, which earned \$515 million last year.

The chairman of the Meat Board, Mr Adam Begg, who has just returned from the United States, said New Zealand's trade access to America was under a cloud as a result of the nuclear dispute.

#### Restraints

"In terms of the more militant congressman and senators, I am sure it will make life more difficult," he said.

However, other sources in Wellington said there was no immediate threat to beef exports, which are still well below the level at which voluntary restraints or quotas would be triggered under the American Meat Import Act.

Dr Don Brash, general manager of the New Zealand Kiwifruit Authority, which helped to market \$20 million worth of kiwifruit in the United States last year, said he would be surprised if his industry was affected by the dispute.

The president of the Export Institute, Mr John Lister, said exporters were extremely concerned at the extra hurdle the dispute was creating.

#### No Evidence

He said the institute would try to compensate for this by arguing for an extension of the present export market development incentive at talks with three cabinet ministers early next week.

But the Acting Prime Minister, Mr Palmer, said the Government still had no evidence that New Zealand trade with the United States was being affected by the dispute.

The United States was New Zealand's third biggest customer last year, after Australia and Japan. It bought goods worth \$1.3 billion, or 13.7 per cent of New Zealand's exports.

## Other Examples

Christchurch THE PRESS in English 2 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Some commercial buyers in the United States are refusing New Zealand products until the row over nuclear-ship port calls dies down, and the dispute is causing apprehension among importers and distributors.

But the ice-cream war, NZPA was told, is more like a skirmish--no danger of a melt-down there--and not as serious as might be thought in New Zealand.

Reaction from traders is mixed. One told NZPA yesterday that the fuss had already calmed down, and another said that many Americans were more concerned about who would win the America's Cup.

Others pointed out that products from Nicaragua, Chile and South Africa continued to sell well in the United States in spite of popular opposition from different quarters of the policies of those Governments.

A boycott of Russian vodka after the Soviet Union shot down a South Korean airliner has long gone--the bottles are back on the shelves and customers are buying.

Some traders of New Zealand products suggested too that colleagues might be getting in early with excuses for poor trading results or refusals of product which in fact had nothing to do with the dispute.

A number mentioned that New Zealand's previously positive image, reinforced by such things as tourism advertising on television, had been a useful adjunct to their sales efforts.

Promotions of New Zealand products are still visible in the supermarkets of California, New Zealand's prime market in the United States.

Among comments garnered:

Peter Parker, of P. and D. Foods: "We presented Watties 'New Zealand Farms' ice-cream to one supermarket chain for their consideration as a new item.

"It is not possible to deemphasise the 'New Zealand'--it's there on the label in big type, and they indicated it would not be in their best interests to promote it until the dust settled.

"They indicated that they viewed the dispute as a nuisance, in business terms, and that carrying the line might give the impression they were supporting New Zealand's position.

"It was a business decision, though, not a philosophical or moral one, and the ice-cream is being carried by other chains in northern California and in Nevada."

Peter Pearce, of Knight International, a subsidiary of the Invercargill sheep-skin products firm, Knight Tailors: "The buyer for a big department store said, 'I don't think we are going to be dealing with you until this was blown over'.

"We normally advertise as 'Knight International of New Zealand,' but we have dropped the 'of New Zealand' in trade advertising over the last three weeks. The basic problem is the bad press we are getting here."

Geoff Reid, president of Canterbury of New Zealand's American business, which sells sportswear directly to 1200 retail stores in the United States: "I am not aware of any opposition at the retail level, but there have been one or two incidents at the store-buying level, people saying, I'm not going to take that chance when alternative products are available".

Mr Reid said he believed most buyers would make a final decision on price and quality.

"Let's hope that reason will prevail; but we are apprehensive, because the good will towards New Zealand is a vital part of our sales marketing position."

Mr Reid said his firm had to use its full title--Canterbury of New Zealand--to differentiate itself from other companies with the word "Canterbury" in their title.

"We will continue to use that no matter what happens," he said.

Grant Hunt, who distributes New Zealand fruit: "I think it has calmed down now, although it got a little nervois for a while. There's been no real pressure from the chain stores. There's been some negative feed-back, but I've had no orders cancelled."

CSO: 4200/778

NEW ZEALAND

LANGE SEES 'NO TENSION' WITH UK ON SHIP BAN

Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] NZPA London--New Zealand's policy on visits by nuclear-armed ships would not cause any tension between it and Britain, the Prime Minister, Mr Lange, said in London yesterday.

Mr Lange, who will meet the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, on Monday, said this was the message he was receiving from the British Government.

His comment came after he met the Foreign and Commonwealth Office minister, Baroness Young.

He offered a conciliatory message to the British Government, saying his anti-nuclear policy "need not be a matter of moment at all" between London and Wellington.

While sticking firm to New Zealand's defence policy, he played down the British Government disapproval which emerged last week when Mrs Thatcher said in the United States that she was disappointed with the anti-nuclear approach.

He said he did not see New Zealand's ban on visits by nuclear-armed ships causing any rift.

"Very simply, each country has a particular policy," he said.

"The Nato policy is that there will be a commitment to a nuclear defence, that the nuclear defence must be so heavily interlocked and powerful that it becomes a massive deterrent, and that every unit of the navies of any of the Nato countries must not disclose which vessels are carrying nuclear arms.

"That is very clear strategy of Nato plus the United States. It is not appropriate for New Zealand to buy into that fight.

"We are an alliance which is not a nuclear alliance..that is understood by the United Kingdom Government.

"I represent our Government, which has our stand. I am sure she [Mrs Thatcher] won't expect me to change our policy and I won't expect her to change hers." Asked what his stance would be when he saw Mrs Thatcher, he said: "The one on which we were elected, a constant one."



21 May 1985

## NEW ZEALAND

## PAPER ANALYZES TRADE PRICE FOR SHIP BAN

Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 2 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] The trade "price" which New Zealand could have to pay as a result of its ban on American nuclear-armed ships is potentially huge.

In two of the past five years, the United States has been New Zealand's single biggest customer.

In the calendar year 1984 it was in third place, buying \$1.3 billion worth of New Zealand products, behind Japan's \$1.4 billion and Australia's \$1.5 billion.

But that still represents about one-seventh of the country's total exports.

More significantly, the United States buys about 85 per cent of New Zealand's total exports of crayfish, 71 per cent of its casein, 70 percent of its beef, 30 percent of its fish and 29 per cent of its cheese.

#### At Risk

Although well behind Australia, it is also the second biggest market for many of New Zealand's growing manufactured exports.

The export products most at immediate risk are those, such as the ones attracting publicity this week, which are clearly labelled "made in New Zealand" on supermarket shelves.

However, very few of the major New Zealand exports to America fall into that category.

Most of the beef, cheese and casein ends up in hamburgers and pizzas, unrecognisable next to American-grown ingredients.

Kiwifruit and the main fish export, orange roughy, are sold through distributors as products uniquely New Zealand. But as Dr Don Bbrash of the Kiwifruit Authority noted, it was doubtful whether that had actually ever seeped through to the average American.

"You ask Americans where kiwifruit comes from, and they do not know," he said.

New Zealand traders also feel protected by the fact that New Zealand and the United States are members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

Under Gatt rules, if the Americans decided to shut out New Zealand's \$500 million beef exports, it would be obliged to give New Zealand access to \$500 million worth of trade in some other product.

To Wellington officials, who not the passionate and long-standing American commitment to Gatt, that would be quite simply unthinkable.

The United States has obtained, as long ago as 1955, the right to waive Gatt rules when it comes to butter, where imports are restricted to derisory levels. New Zealand's butter quota is 155 tonnes.

It also restricts beef imports when these pass a certain trigger level. That happened in 1982 and 1983, but is not expected to happen this year.

When it does occur, the restriction on each beef export is laid down by a legal formula, based on average exports during the previous five years, which New Zealand officials do not believe would be changed to spite this country.

Rather, their fears are centred on two wider, and quite separate, trade issues, both of which happened to be coming to a head at present and therefore offer scope for retaliation against New Zealand.

#### Subsidies

The first of these is export incentives.

Under Gatt rules, incentives are classed as subsidies, and where they exist, other countries are entitled to impose countervailing duties on the subsidised exports.

New Zealand signed the Gatt code on subsidies in 1981 explicitly to protect New Zealand exports to the United States against American countervailing duties.

When it did so, it committed itself to removing all export incentives within a reasonable period of time.

But the Americans told the Government by letter that it expected incentives to end by March 31, 1985.

In fact, the Government announced last year that all export incentives, except one for marketing costs, would be halved from March 31, 1985, halved again from March 31 next year, and abolished from April 1, 1987.

The marketing incentive, which allows exporters to deduct 150 per cent of certain overseas marketing costs from their taxable incomes, was extended for a further year, with a final decision on its future due in the 1985 budget.

If America chooses, it could, from the end of this month, impose countervailing duties against all New Zealand exports up to the value of the export incentives paid on them.

After April 1, the main export performance tax incentive will be a tax rebate of up to 7 per cent of the value added to a product in New Zealand, so a fully New Zealand-made product could face an American countervailing duty of that amount.

In theory, the Americans could also add to that an allowance for the marketing incentive and any other subsidies they could find.

However, that would not affect agricultural products, which do not qualify for the incentives.

A deputy secretary of trade and industry, Mr Ted Woodfield, has been in Washington this week trying to stave off any American decision to impose countervailing duties on manufactured exports.

The result of his mission is likely to be known by the March 31 deadline.

#### Mountain

Secondly, and perhaps even more worryingly for New Zealand's overall trade, there is the matter of the huge American dairy products stockpile.

Although its butter "mountain" has recently been reduced to less than New Zealand's annual butter exports, the United States still holds stocks many times as big as this country's annual sales of cheese and milk powder.

CSO: 4200/778

NEW ZEALAND

BOB JONES IDENTIFIED AS USSR SOCIETY PATRON

Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]

The Wellington branch of the New Zealand USSR Society reports that the New Zealand Party leader, Mr Bob Jones, has become its patron.

The vice-president of the branch, Mr Jim Coad, said he approached Mr Jones about the post at a reception, and he ac-

cepted.

"He was on record as saying that the Soviet form of education is good, and that the Soviets are not a threat to us.

"I approached him as a person, rather than a capitalist or a politician."

Mr Coad said that as patron, Mr Jones receives

notices that are sent to members — "but he really doesn't have to do anything."

"The annual meeting is this weekend, but I don't expect him to turn up — he is a very busy man."

Mr Jones, however, refused to confirm or deny whether he was

patron of the society, saying: "What would it matter if I was?"

Mr Jones said he would not tell newspapers whether or not he was patron of the local kennel club.

"Just as a matter of principle," he said. "It is none of their business."

CSO: 4200/778

21 May 1985

## NEW ZEALAND

## MANUFACTURING EXPORTS TARGET SET

Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 2 Mar 85 p 17

[Text]

New Zealand's manufacturing exports will almost certainly pass the \$2000m mark this year, the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr Caygill, said yesterday.

He made the prediction in a speech prepared for the annual high country field day held at Millers' Flat in Central Otago, and said the most obvious way of measuring industrial efficiency was by export success.

Mr Caygill said that although only about 16 percent of the country's total industrial production was exported, manufacturers were aiming to lift this to 20 percent by 1990.

"It is vital to New Zealand that they succeed in meeting that target," he said.

The farmers at the field day were told they had known for years what manufacturers were only now discovering: that one man's protected market was someone else's added cost.

Mr Caygill's speech was to be delivered by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Butcher, at Avenal Station.

Mr Caygill said the pressure to move away from blanket protection of import licensing came not only from the agricultural sector but

almost as strongly from the manufacturing sector.

But he said the Government was not going to open the flood gates to cheap imports overnight.

"The programme must be gradual so as to give the host of individual manufacturers sufficient time to lift their horizons to the overseas markets," said Mr Caygill. "There are no equivalents of the producer boards to handle the marketing for manufacturers," he said.

It was important that manufacturers realise that both the Government and the Opposition wanted the shift from import licensing, because knowing it was inevitable would help them make investment decisions. — NZPA

CSO: 4200/778

NEW ZEALAND

TREASURY, RESERVE BANK DEBATE, EXPLAIN POLICIES

Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 2 Mar 85 p 17

[Article by Bruce Kohn]

[Text]

While the Minister of Finance, Mr Douglas, is engaged in explaining the thrust of the Government's economic policies to his party, the Treasury and the Reserve Bank are involved in a rare debate with academics on their approach to the nation's economic situation.

It is not unusual for ministers of finance to face a need for explanation and argument over the policies they are pursuing. But both the Treasury and the Reserve Bank generally keep clear of public exchanges with critics.

The reasons for the minister and his two advisory departments fronting up to calls for discussion embrace their response to the extraordinary monetary crisis which gripped the country about the middle of last year.

The policy thrust the minister has adopted is as far removed from the interventionism which became the "norm" of the Muldoon years as is the Labour Party's attitude on Anzus distinct from that of the National Party.

In switching direction the Minister and his advisers have faced charges that by label they are

"monetarist" and are almost recklessly pursuing a doctrine without regard to practical effects.

On the political side the minister's position is clear.

He wants to put an end to policies intended to isolate New Zealand from world economic forces and make the nation responsive to international market demands.

## Thrust

Widespread import protection, subsidised farming and industrial growth and heavy-handed government intervention in the operation of financial markets are meant to become a relic of past years.

The thrust of the policy does not sit easily with those who believe the state should play the dominant role in matters economic, seeking always to protect individuals, industry and agriculture from the rougher side of economic developments.

But Mr Douglas, the Treasury and the Reserve Bank believe that in seeking to afford this protection, successive Governments have so isolated the economy from international realities that unless it can be rapidly adjusted to cope with them there is little prospect of a revival of living standards and lifts

in social expenditure to cope with demand.

The bottom line is that social spending demands for such areas as education, welfare and health can only be continued at desirable levels if cash is earned to support the expenditure.

If the cash isn't earned heavier and heavier burdens fall on individual taxpayers who in turn revolt at the demands put on them.

The minister and his advisers consider that the problem was not faced up to adequately in the late 70s and early 80s and even in the often supposed heyday of the New Zealand economy, the 60s.

The clash of opinions on policy courses came to a head in the crunch period for the dollar at the time of the July election.

It was probably inevitable against the background of dominance held by Sir Robert Muldoon over the country's economic strategies for some 15 years. And it seems equally inevitable that given the contrast of policies it will take some years for them to disengage.

The Treasury insists that its economic management paper made public by the Government was set out to provide a framework for approaching economic management, from both an administrative and substantive point of view.

It says: "The general theme of policy advice in the document is the need for more stability in policy and a mutually reinforcing balance between policies, combined with the view that the Government is

more likely to achieve its ends effectively by harnessing and supplementing markets rather than suppressing them."

The Treasury paper gives an insight into the department's thoughts on growth and development.

"Whether the Government should become involved in decision-making or planning on resource use (or in picking winners), rather than be confined to setting the rules of the game, must be determined for each situation through a comparison of the benefits with the wider costs.

"The problem here is not with the concept of planning or picking winners as such, since the process of selecting profitable new ventures across the economy in response to changing market conditions is precisely the process which permits economic growth.

"State interventions are, therefore, likely to reduce the incentives to manage projects efficiently and, to the extent that political capital gets tied up with the success of a project it can become difficult to cut the losses associated with unprofitable ventures."

In the tradition of debate between economists various claims and counter-claims are made about the merits of documents produced by contributors.

But by challenging both the Reserve Bank and the Treasury the university group further stimulated debate on policy development. It is a debate likely to be a good deal cooler than that the minister is likely to get into in coming weeks within his own party.

21 May 1985

NEW ZEALAND

## LABOR PARTY COUNCIL QUIZZES FINANCE MINISTER ON POLICY

Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 2 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

The Minister of Finance, Mr Douglas, was today called before the national council of the Labour Party yesterday to explain the direction of his economic policies.

This was confirmed by the party president, Ms Margaret Wilson, who said she asked Mr Douglas to attend.

She said it was a recommendation of the party's national executive, which also met yesterday.

Ms Wilson was speaking to reporters at Parliament after announcing the appointment of the party's new general secretary, Mr Tony Timms.

She said Mr Douglas gave a presentation, took part in discussion and answered questions.

"There were a lot of questions, basically seeking the reasons why the Government has had to take the actions it has taken," she said.

"Party members will take that on board and go back to area and sector groups. I think it was a very useful contribution to whole debate."

Asked how much dissent there was in the party over the Government's economic policies, Ms Wilson said dissent was not the right word.

"There are people that are concerned. They're worried because of the effects that are taking place — increases in prices, the interest rates, those sorts of matters," she said.

"What they really want to know is why, and where is it going."

There was economic debate within the Labour Party centred on ministers explaining the detail of the Government's policy.

"Members want to be reassured, and that's what the Treasury ministers are doing — they're also putting contrary points of view," she said.

"I don't see any dissent in the sense of splits and divisions. Certainly there is no evidence of that."

"There seems to be very high level of interest and also a request for information."

"I think party members at the moment really want to know exactly what is the state of the economy."

"They know it's not good, but they want to hear it from the Treasury ministers."

On marketing the economic policies, Ms Wilson said policies which had needed marketing included national superannuation and the shift in emphasis to family care as a temporary solution.

When policies were fully explained, a lot of electoral unhappiness disappeared.

She said that if ministers were convinced by points made to them during the party debate, then the party would see change.

CSO: 4200/778



PHILIPPINES

FIRST COUPLE NAMED IN SECRET U.S. INVESTMENTS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 13 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] San Francisco, March 10 (AFP)--Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda are secret partners in three Silicon Valley companies in which their government has allegedly invested millions of dollars, according to a story published Sunday by the San Francisco Examiner.

The Examiner, quoting unidentified government and other sources, said that President Marcos and his wife, using intermediaries, have agreed to invest \$9.125 million of their money into the business ventures of Vicente Chuidan, described as a multi-millionaire and former golfing partner of Marcos.

The couple owns 50 percent of Chuidan's main holding company, the Asian Reliability Co. Inc.--ARCI, according to the newspaper. Interviews and documents showed, according to the Examiner, "about \$4 million in stock investments in ARCI by the Philippines' Ministry of Human Settlements. Imelda Marcos heads the ministry and her deputy was an ARCI treasurer whose credit card bills were paid by the company. The deputy's wife was on paper a 50 percent shareholder of ARCI. The 10 percent annual payment to the Marcoses was officially supposed to be for ministry projects."

Chuidan has vowed to fight what he believes are Marcos' efforts to throw him out, according to the newspaper, which said their alleged partnership has soured.

CSO: 4200/839

PHILIPPINES

CEBU PUBLISHER ON CORY AQUINO'S UNBEATABLE CANDIDACY

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 13 Mar 85 pp 3, 4

["Publisher's Column" by Al Alinsug: "Cory Aquino Will Beat Imelda or her Husband"]

[Text] An Agency France Presse report says that Cory Aquino as a presidential candidate will solve the problem of disunity in the opposition, if she accedes to the presidential draft. All other presidential aspirants will give way, says the report.

That is how easy it is to solve the problem, so elusive as it seems today, if Cory finally says yes to be drafted as the opposition standard bearer, and also if...all the rest of aspirants really subordinate their personal ambition. Will Laurel, who has prepared all these years for the big event, easily give in? Salonga is rather humble and magnanimous; Kalaw may not be as serious. But Pimentel is going to be the problem. The biggest problem of the opposition revolves around the leaders and nowhere else.

If Cory will be the opposition candidate, people will not mind her preparation for the presidency. She can beat the First Lady hands down--the votes or the people will be a revenge vote. They won't consider much her competence; all the people need is a rallying point for their grievances against the present regime. Cory can galvanize the votes of the nation into an avalanche; the votes will be a cry for blood for justice for Ninoy, her husband, which the dead Ninoy cannot get today.

The Magsaysay feat will find repetition with Cory Aquino. Magsaysay who galvanized the votes of the nation behind him did not give time to the voters to ask who was he. Magsaysay was a mechanic and without competence to be saddled the gigantic presidential task. But the people did not mind. Against the awesome powers of the incumbent Quirino, Magsaysay handily made his point. The people rallied behind him like being drawn to the magnetic pole. Not even the billions of the First Lady can

make her or that of her husband  
win the electoral combat.

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Yesterday we said that those  
who distance themselves from  
NUC will little by little be left  
out or time will come when they  
will be alienated by the people.  
Cory herself can curb the conse-  
quence if she will be the choice  
and at the center stage of the  
unity. If she will be the rallying  
point, the expected disunity will  
become a myth. If someone else  
becomes the choice and not  
Cory, all the others will run and  
nobody could stop them. Not even  
Cory, as Cory has not stopped  
the NUC and other groups. At  
unusual circumstances like what  
we have today, winning the elec-  
tion may not be a matter of  
competence or brilliance. Election  
is a contest of who is popular and  
who is believed by the electorate.  
Even a child knows Cory and  
has her picture tucked in his  
breast. The people will vote for  
her with tears.

CSO: 4200/839

PHILIPPINES

MARCOS REJECTS AMNESTY FOR CPP SUSPECTS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 13 Mar 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] President Ferdinand Marcos says he has no intention of granting an amnesty for leaders and members of the banned Philippine Communist Party who were arrested in recent years.

Marcos was replying to questions on the appeal made to him by the International Press Institute (IPI) on March 6 on behalf of journalist Satur Ocampo, who has been detained for 9 years.

Ocampo, 45, is a former assistant economics editor of the Manila Times and was allegedly a member of the Communist Party central committee. He has never appeared before a court.

"He belongs to the central committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He is facing charges in court," Marcos said in an exclusive interview yesterday with AFP.

The President noted that the former Philippine Congress had declared the Communist Party illegal.

He added that members of the Communist Party had "openly declared the overthrow of the government by force and then participated in efforts to do so."

This, he added, "is to confess you are indeed violating the laws of the Philippines."

"This is the difficulty of granting amnesty to these people. Another matter in our experience with those we have released: they have returned to the hills. They returned to the Communist Party. Some of them offered themselves as double agents but they turned against us."

Marcos said that they gave such promises of co-operation as part of a plan to get out of prison and resume their activities as Communist Party members.

The President, referring to Ocampo on a first-name basis, said they were friends in the days when Marcos was a member of parliament and the journalist covered the legislature.

The government is facing a rebellion by some 12,000 communist insurgents across the country. About 800 suspected party members are currently in Philippine prison, according to unofficial figures.

CSO: 4200/839

PHILIPPINES

CPP'S SISON INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 13 Mar 85 pp 2, 10

[Interview by Petronilo Bn. Daroy with political detainee Jose Ma. Sison, alleged former chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines: "The Opposition Must Prepare for any Eventuality"]

[Text] As a result of reports circulating in Manila about the launching of a new "anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist coalition of democratic forces" by the Parliament of the Streets led by former Sen Lorenzo M. Tanada and Agapito "Butz" Aquino, and after the national congress of the Filipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) early this month and the "National Unification Conference of the United Nationalist Democratic Organisation (Unido) led by former Sen Salvador Laurel over the weekend, positions of the legal and "above-ground" opposition groups vis-a-vis the scheduled local elections and possible "snap" presidential elections have emerged, albeit still without clarity and pervaded by a spirit of controversy and fractiousness. But what is the "underground" portion of the opposition up to? How does it view the coming elections?

To get answers to these questions, Petronilo Bn. Daroy, one of the editors of the progressive quarterly New Philippine Review, interviewed political detainee Jose Ma. "Joma" Sison, who was alleged to be chairman of the clandestine Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) at the time of his arrest by government intelligence operatives in November 1977. Sison, who describes himself as "a student and keen observer of Philippine affairs," had been quoted earlier as saying: "The KBL (the ruling New Society Movement headed by President Marcos) will surely lose in both local and presidential elections if these are kept relatively clean and honest. If the KBL 'wins' again through fraud and terror, the desire for armed revolution will grow stronger among the people."

Petronilo Bn. Daroy (PBD): Would you endorse participation (by the opposition) in possible elections in 1985? Do you believe elections will be held in 1985? What are the indications that these elections will/will not push through?

Jose Ma. Sison (JMS): The possibility of simultaneous presidential and local elections in 1985 has been premised on the death or physical incapacity of Mr Marcos. I would have no objection to the legal opposition participating in such elections, especially because conditions for the opposition to breach the ramparts of fascism would then be far better than before.

But it turns out that Mr Marcos is still alive and kicking. It is more likely that no elections will be held in 1985. Mr Marcos is using 1985 to accomplish certain objectives.

I believe that Mr Marcos is indeed sick with some degenerative disease requiring major treatment every so often to keep him alive and from getting incapacitated. But he will remain dangerous so long as he can utter or write out such monosyllabic words as "grab," "kill," "cheat," etc. and he can sign a decree extending his emergency powers to his loyal chief of staff, whether it be General Ver or General Ramos.

PBD: How would you assess the moves of the opposition? Is there a maneuver, do you think, on the part of the Marcos regime to deflect attention from (a) the Aquino assassination trial; (b) measures it is undertaking to intensify militarization; and (c) continued repression by floating the prospect of elections? Do you think, in other words, that the rumors about elections in 1985 are a deliberate ploy?

JMS: The opposition cannot be blamed for acting on the rumors of a dying Ferdinand Marcos and on the rumors of elections in 1985, as well as for building up a number of presidential hopefuls. In the first place, the opposition must constantly strengthen itself and prepare for any eventuality.

But what is deplorable is that a number of opposition leaders have become so obsessed with inheriting the autocratic powers of Mr Marcos that they have been negligent in exposing the fact that Mr Marcos is using 1985 to complete the whitewash of the Aquino assassination; rebuild the image of the regime; get the country deeper into the debt trap; escalate militarization and repression; and prepare the machinery and conditions for fraud and terrorism in the forthcoming elections under the pretext of counter-insurgency.

One or two prominent opposition politicians seem so sure of rising to absolute power that they are already on the campaign to witchhunt communists, denigrate and exclude national democratic organizations and perpetuate US economic and military domination. They appear too eager to please the US (government) and uphold the monopoly of political power by the big compradors and landlords. They have not paused to consider that against their subjective wishes, the US, particularly the administration of President Reagan, continues to encourage Mr Marcos to hold on to his fascist dictatorship and to allow him to control and manipulate the AFP (Armed Forces of the Philippines) and the Comelec (Commission on Elections).

The rumors of elections in 1985 have been a deliberate ploy, as you put it, on the part of the US as well as the Marcos clique. The rumors of a dead or dying Marcos are traceable to the US Embassy, Malacanang Palace (the presidential palace) and Camp Aguinaldo (AFP headquarters). There is a systematic psy-war campaign to put people off balance and deflect their attention from fundamental or gut issues.

My point is that the opposition can and should prepare for elections, engage in all forms of struggle and take up fundamental issues without let-up. As they engage in all forms of struggle, some opposition leaders should not stop conceding that the fascist dictatorship has become a democracy; that the 1984 sham elections were a clean and honest political exercise; and that the elections are the only way through which the fascist dictatorship can be ended.

PBD: Do you think that President Marcos' announcement of reinstating Gen Fabian Ver is a preparation on the part of the regime to use terrorism in the elections--whether these be in 1985, 1986 or 1987? Will the pace of the Aquino trial be synchronized with the necessity of elections and the necessity, too, of exonerating General Ver, so that if it becomes necessary to hold elections in 1985, the Aquino assassination trial will end in 1985 in order to exonerate Ver?

JMS: Mr Marcos' essential interest in having Genral Ver exonerated and in reinstating him is to complete the process of concealing the real mastermind of the Aquino assassination. A campaign to reverse the people's verdict is going on full-blast, with the connivance of the Reagan administration.

Whether General Ver is reinstated or General Ramos continues as AFP chief of staff, Mr Marcos continues to be in a position to use terrorism in the elections. The reported differences between General Ver and General Ramos are those of loyal servants to the same master. Both are original members of the so-called "twelve disciples" who conspired with Mr Marcos in the 1972 coup (declaration of martial law) against the established government. The brutal repression of the people by the military has continued to escalate under General Ramos.

The Sandiganbayan (ombudsman court) trial of the Aquino assassination case will be concluded in 1985, perhaps in three to six months before the end of the year, giving Mr Marcos and the KBL enough time to bury the Aquino case before the 1986 elections. (PNF)

CSO: 4200/839



PHILIPPINES

ABRA GOVERNOR LINKS INSURGENCY TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 13 Mar 85 p 6

["Ripples from the North" column by Fr. Bel R. San Luis, SVD: "Is Abra Now NPA Country?"]

[Text] Following a rash of ambush and shootings, some believed to be perpetrated by NPAs, Gov Andres Bernos of Abra warned higher government officials through the weekly Timek Ti Amianan that Abra may fall "in no time" into the hands of the NPAs unless it receives priority in government development projects.

I agree wholeheartedly with the Abra governor. A visit to the province will show that Abra has really been neglected. You can see (and feel!) this as you travel through its rough and potholed national and provincial roads which, by the way, are not only rough but long unfinished like the one in Tayum, Abra.

Gov Bernos adds: "Whereas in Pangasinan and Ilocos Norte the roads are mostly cemented, certain towns in Abra can't be reached by any kind of road."

President Marcos has always stressed that the best antidote to communism is not only guns and bullets, but a sincere socio-economic development that's responsive to the people's needs. Are the NPAs in Abra growing in strength and number because of the lack of government development projects? It's a fact that were there's government negligence and apathy, there breeds disenchantment, and eventually rebellion.

Maybe the local and provincial officials of Abra should keep on lobbying and storming the gates of the powers-that-be for the much-needed development projects. Remember the biblical truism: "Search and you shall find; knock and the door shall be opened to you."

But, lest these officials forget, they should also do their "homework"-- look after the welfare of their constituents, eradicate or minimize corruption, spend government funds wisely.

In this connection, I'm reminded of a courageous lady working in the North who, deploring the abandoned road of her town in Bohol during a visit, said to officials concerned: "Ano ba ang ginagawa sa pera ng gobyerno dito? Mabuti pa sa amin, kahit nagnanakaw ang mga opisyal doon mayroon ka namang nakikitang improvements."

Good News: the garlic harvest in the Ilocos this summer has been reported "very good." A welcome news, indeed.

Talking of garlic, according to a health bulletin, garlic can help you lose weight. It dampens one's appetite because of the "full feeling" in your mouth. But watch out, it can also lose friends because of the smell. Your friends' "appetite" is dampened when they come near you.

CSO: 4200/839

PHILIPPINES

NAFJD CHARGES IMF CONDITIONS SPUR TAX HIKES

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 13 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] In 1984, the average working Filipino spent one and a half months of the year working solely to earn the money he will pay as tax to the government.

With planned new increases in taxes this year, there will be another 10 days of income taken away from the citizen.

And while the government has announced an income tax revenue reduction because of additional exemptions for citizens amounting to P180 million, the additional tax revenues the government will get by way of the new taxes--indirect taxes, or new burdens through the removal of subsidies--will reach a whopping P13 billion.

Because of these and other factors, says the Metro Manila chapter of the Nationalist Alliance for Freedom, Justice and Democracy, right-thinking Filipinos should vigorously oppose the foreign-inspired recovery program being flaunted by the Marcos regime.

A statement from the alliance yesterday also invited the concerned Filipinos to join a massive picket-rally in front of the Central Bank today "to protest the IMF-World Bank continued domination of the Philippine economy." The "IMF recovery program," the NA says, is not meant to ease the plight of Filipino because it is more for "the recovery of the foreign banks" now undergoing their own financial crisis.

The NA also deplored the government's adherence to three conditions which, it alleged, were imposed by the foreign creditors in exchange for more loans: devaluation of the peso, a policy of wage restraint, and more indirect taxes, and higher direct taxes on real estate and road use. The last is meant to compensate for the loss of revenues from the reduction of import tariffs and taxes.

The alliance doubted the sincerity of the regime in ordering increases in the tax deductible allowances used for income tax calculation of fixed income earners.

This apparent boon is terribly offset, the NA said, by the new taxes--mostly indirect--which will affect a bigger segment of the population. About P13 billion will be gained by the government from new measures, including interest tax on small depositors, an increase on sales taxes, new levies on selected petroleum products and additional stamp duties.

CSO: 4200/839

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

CORRESPONDENT VIEWS PRC, CGDK RESISTANCE TO SRV

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 1 Apr 85 p 10

[Article by Erhard Haubold: "China Disappoints Thailand"]

[Text] Bangkok, in March—One partisan camp after another fell to the advancing Vietnamese forces. And Prince Sihanouk, the president of the Kampuchean resistance coalition, reminded his Beijing allies of a promise they allegedly made to him last fall. They were to "teach Vietnam a second lesson now" by invading the northern part of Vietnam which they did as part of the "first lesson" in early 1979. But China did nothing, even after the "small dragon" slapped China's face in a way which was plainly visible to any observer in Southeast Asia.

On 11 March, China's president Li Xianmian arrived in Thailand for an official visit and on that very day Hanoi's troops captured Tatum, the last major resistance camp along the Thai border. The timing and symbolism of the attack could not have been better. Tatum was the headquarters of the "National Sihanoukist Army" and the "capital" of the Prince, who is not only the president of "Democratic Kampuchea" but also a special friend of Beijing's and has been maintaining a second home there for a number of years. Some 200 of the Tatum attackers still remain on Thai soil, as if to demonstrate the limits of China's power to the world.

There is a great deal of disappointment over China both in Thailand and above all among the Kampuchean resistance which had more or less expected the Chinese to mount a "diversionary attack" in northern Vietnam. The Beijing government, which had been calling Hanoi a "paper tiger" thus fell victim to its own propaganda. Last January, Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian had still been threatening that the Vietnamese would be taught another "lesson;" but then things quieted down and it became clear that the Beijing government was assigning priority to the modernization of its economy and the normalization of its relations to the Soviet Union as long as Thailand was not seriously threatened by the fact that 10,000 or more Vietnamese soldiers crossed its borders. That is why Hanoi's success in smashing the partisan camps is being minimized; why the core of the resistance has not been affected according to the Chinese and why they are even saying that Vietnam has suffered a propaganda defeat

in Kampuchea. In Bangkok, on the other hand, this is being termed a kind of "faith healing process so as not to be forced to come up with a major lesson."

The reputation of China in Southeast Asia has suffered and the Khmer guerillas have been hard hit. All this could have an effect on the partisans' morale and a bearing on the upcoming Kampuchea debate at the United Nations. On the other hand, the Khmer resistance hardly suffered any casualties and China played its role as the most important and generous supplier of arms prior and during the fighting. Each month, the PRC sent 300 to 500 tons of materiel (including food and uniforms) to the Thailand-Kampuchea border region. The non-communist partisans loyal to Son Sann and Sihanouk alone got 6,000 rifles as a "Christmas present;" but the Khmer Rouge, the third component of the resistance coalition, are still Beijing's favorites. China is expected to continue playing this role and to **keep on trying** to prevent Vietnam from consolidating its position in Kampuchea by every means at its disposal.

For that matter, none of the Western military attaches in Bangkok really expected that "second lesson" to occur. In 1979, Vietnam was supposed to be "taught" but China, too, got hurt; suffering at least 20,000 dead. Any new invasion would result in even more casualties. To be sure, the Chinese officers have learned something in the meantime but Vietnam has arrayed higher-grade forces in its northern border area than it had 6 years ago when it was not expecting a Chinese attack and these troops have gained combat experience in Kampuchea. For another thing, Vietnam is well equipped today with Soviet weapons (along the Thai border as well) and has a good antiaircraft defense system which was built up with the help of Soviet experts. Sources in Bangkok also believe that Soviet experts are also lending a hand in working out a threat analysis and that the Soviets would react in case their Vietnamese ally were attacked. Their capability, including MiG 23 fighters, is concentrated at the bases at Cam Ranh Bay and Danang. Accordingly, the danger of a Russo-Chinese confrontation is great—in contrast to 1979.

Experts here in Bangkok estimate that there are some 300,000 troops stationed in northern Vietnam—some of which are crack units with combat experience. On the other side of the border China is believed to have stationed about 400,000 troops. This is a quantitative ratio which does not suffice for carrying out superior operations—the more so since the Chinese units are not fully mechanized and the Vietnamese are more mobile thanks to the equipment they captured from the Americans. Over the past few years, the PRC has built up a strong air force whose striking power, however, is still thought to be limited. There are a number of propeller planes among the the present 1,000 aircraft. There are therefore quite a few Thais who look upon the Chinese connection with a somewhat wary eye. But there is no substitute in sight—the more so since the Pax Americana

no longer guarantees the security of Thailand's eastern border. On the other hand, 98 percent of the Thai population consider the proximity of Vietnam a threat. China may have lost face but it does fulfill important defense functions in the Thai scheme of things. If the PRC loosened its "grip" on northern Vietnam, Hanoi's elite units might soon be stationed in Kampuchea--closer than ever to Bangkok. Which is another reason why the military and political contacts between Thailand and China should, if anything, become closer. During the past year, more than 300 Chinese delegations visited Thailand and the chiefs of the three Thai service branches went on official visits to Beijing. Nothing as yet is known about the possible conclusion of defense treaties but it is rumored that detailed military agreements do exist with regard to D-Day: a Vietnamese invasion of Thailand. "In the absence of this type of backing," a Western military attache told me, "the Bangkok government would surely not be as cocky in its statements regarding Moscow."

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

POLITICAL ASPECTS TO REFUGEE AID DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 1 Apr 85 p 7.

[Article by Erhard Haubold: "Malaria Is Worst Enemy"]

[Text] Bangkok, 31 March—No one goes hungry; but 80 percent of the refugees have all had malaria at least once. The dangerous mosquitoes appear every afternoon at five; one can almost set one's watch by them. Then, the Kampucheans crawl under their mosquito nets, if they have any or put up extensive smoke screens—and even the most dedicated of Western helpers leave the camps.

Over the past few months, the helpers have done a good job when the Vietnamese attacked and destroyed one partisan camp after another along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea; when hundreds of thousands of women and children who had been living with the guerilla fighters were put to flight. 250,000 people were taken away and resettled inside Thailand without a famine or serious diseases breaking out. The people from UNBRO (the UN Border Relief Operation) and the International Red Cross did themselves proud. But as UNBRO head David Morton says, they already took care of one-quarter million civilians prior to the Vietnamese attacks—so the difference is not all that great.

To be sure, he needs an extra \$ 6-7 million this year (as against \$33 million in 1984) to fix up the "emergency shelters" or simply bamboo poles and tenting and to prepare new and more permanent housing for the Kampucheans. He also needs more money to purify the frequently polluted drinking water which has caused "a great many" cases of diarrhea. In addition, Morton does not rule out the possibility that malnourishment of children under the age of five may increase once again. Over the past 4 years, the percentage of undernourished children declined from 10 to 12 percent to less than six percent. It is also important to provide less monotonous and one-sided nutrition which is something some Western countries are trying to do something about by providing bilateral aid.

The FRG, "out front" in providing aid, according to diplomatic sources in Bonn, has already contributed as much this year (DM 360,000) as it did in all of 1984. This does not include multilateral contributions amounting to



some DM 2.5 million per year made available to UNBRO and the International Red Cross and the about DM 50 million spent on the so-called "village development program" since 1980. This program is designed to make sure that Thai peasants do not become too unhappy about the fact that they lack the doctors, hospitals, schools, water supply and roads which are provided to the camp inhabitants.

For Thailand then, the unrest along its eastern border is not a deficit situation altogether. Some military units are said to have "siphoned off" aid shipments of rice and Chinese arms shipments to the guerilla fighters—leaving aside the black market profits which the Thai soldiers share with Kampuchean "experts" who were already engaged in big business deals in the Lon Nol era prior to 1975. Back then, it was weapons which they got from the Americans for non-existent phantom soldiers (and sold to the communist partisans); nowadays, it is consumer goods from motorcycle tires to television sets which ultimately wind up in Phnom Penh or even in Saigon—not to forget medical supplies. Without the malaria tablets which make their way into Kampuchea by hidden routes the fighting strength of the Vietnamese would be a good deal less potent. The Vietnamese officers readily admit that their worst enemies are the malaria-carrying mosquitoes and not the Khmer guerillas.

The biggest evacuation operation since the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea 6 years ago has saddled the Thais with an immense burden. For years, they have already been taking care of 130,000 refugees from Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea and now they have taken in an additional 230,000 Kampucheans—which adds up to a total of 360,000 people from Indochina. In the process, the Khmer have turned the situation to their advantage. In the past, they were stuck in the border region to which they were sent back by the Thais each time after the Vietnamese drove them out in the regular battles during in the dry season. But now they are located 10 or more kilometers inside Thailand in comparative safety, protected from Vietnamese artillery. It is also more in keeping with humanitarian considerations that women and children no longer live in the same camps from which the partisans—the husbands, fathers and sons—launch their attacks against their former native country.

The Americans are said to have received assurances from Bangkok that the refugees will not be forcibly repatriated as long as there is fighting along the border. But how long can that last? The Thais purposely call the 230,000 refugees "displaced persons." The other 130,000, who are refugees by the UN definition, are more than enough for them. They have been inside the country far too long already and are only slowly being taken in by Western countries. Just how strong the refugees' urge is to go America or to France can be gauged in Khao-I-Dang where the two groups are living cheek by jowl and where the equivalent of DM 1,000 to DM 1,200 is being offered for the chance to get out of "Camp No 6"

and into the refugee enclosure. The "15-year ordeal of the Khmer" (since the fall of Sihanouk), as an American Indochina expert recently put it, has not yet reached its end.

It remains to be seen whether the plan to separate people in civilian camps (in the interior of Thailand) and small, secret partisan camps along the border can actually be implemented and sustained. The Khmer fighters like to go back to their families to rest from the fighting because that is where the food is. The international organizations provide aid only to women and children but cannot prevent the men from grabbing the best of the supplies for themselves--particularly in an Asian society. Thus, Western taxpayers have also been feeding the Khmer Rouge for the past 6 years, those stone-age communists whom Jimmy Carter accused of committing "the worst crimes against human rights in the world" in 1978 but who are strongly supported by the Chinese. The Beijing government feels that the communist partisans are far more effective in their fight against Vietnam than the guerillas loyal to Son Sann and Sihanouk. It is quite conceivable that China will not only be supplying the fighters with guns but also with food in the future, thereby making it possible to separate the camps and to protect the civilians from the Vietnamese artillery which has been firing on patently non-military targets in recent weeks. The only sure thing is that the next rainy season will start very soon. In some areas along the 800-kilometer long border men and guns then tend to get mired in up to almost two feet of mud.

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21 May 1985

## COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

## CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS KHIEU SAMPHAN

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 22 Mar 85 p 13

[ Report of Interview with Khieu Samphan conducted by Pierre Simonitsch in Geneva date not indicated: "Khieu Has Sworn Off Terrorism" ]

"We are no longer communists. We need a policy which guarantees national unity as well as support by the West—which means a parliamentary regime with several political parties and a free market economy." Thus speaks Khieu Samphan who, together with Pol Pot, ruled over Kampuchea from 1975 until the end of 1978, practicing a type of agrarian communism which annihilated the population. Based on different estimates, anywhere from one to three million people perished under this system. Khieu explains his change of heart and that of Pol Pot in the following way: "In a no-exit situation, it would be suicidal for patriots to cling to utopian ideas—in the first instance for us (the Khmer Rouge) and secondly, for the Kampuchean nation. We cannot afford pursuing such a political illusion."

The former chief of state of "Democratic Kampuchea" and present political leader of the Khmer Rouge received this correspondent in the villa of his diplomatic mission to the United Nations in Geneva. Ordinarily, Khieu said, he lives with his guerilla fighters in Kampuchea and frequently meets with Pol Pot, who is in charge of the military operations against the Vietnamese. Pol Pot is doing fine, despite the fact that he is 56 years old.

When the Khmer Rouge entered the capital of Phnom Penh in April 1975, those killed first were the officials of the former government. The new masters drove all city dwellers out into the countryside where they were forced to do hard physical labor. The intelligentsia was systematically exterminated.

Every memory of the time prior to the victory of the Khmer Rouge—from automobiles all the way to pagodas—was destroyed by the fanatical young soldiers. Money was abolished. The "Angkar" or organization meant to create a "new man" out of the mass graves and ruins who would live only for the state. Every other type of dress but the black pyjamas was outlawed. Even the free choice of a husband or wife was supplanted by forced marriages.

The Vietnamese invasion of December 1978 drove the regime leaders and part of their army across the border into Thailand from where they are organizing the guerilla warfare against the occupiers with Chinese and Western help. Khieu Samphan, who is considered to be the intellectual leader of the Khmer Rouge and who studied economics at the Sorbonne, initially refused to talk about the events in his native country, having been one of those mainly responsible for them. But I kept on digging for answers. Have Pol Pot and he at least sworn off the ideology they adhered to at the time, I asked.

"That is not quite the way I would put it," Khieu said. "But we are looking for another way that will make it possible for our Kampuchea to survive. Prior to 1978, we ~~thought we had found an~~ acceptable way; but reality taught us that it was impossible to keep on pursuing this course."

Khieu does not spend any time on humanitarian considerations. "We were unable to realize our goals because of the geopolitical situation," he says. "What we need therefore is a new policy better adjusted to the conditions. Even prior to 1978, we corrected some mistakes and some abuses on the part of local officials. We were new to power. It is normal in such a situation that violence occurs at the administrative level. But we could have corrected these mistakes, if we had had the time. In time, our policy, properly corrected, would have borne fruit."

Khieu says he is convinced that historians will one day pay tribute to the actions of the Khmer Rouge. "I admit that we will have to rely on time which heals all wounds," he says. "I think in time the truth will out. We leave the judgment to the Kampuchean people and to world opinion. In Kampuchea, we have the support of the population—primarily of the farmers—although there are also some people who do not approve of our policies."

"From 1975 to 1978 we tried to rebuild Kampuchea with our own means by relying in the main on the labor of our farmers and the fertility of our soil. We wanted to improve the living conditions of our people under our own power; solving the internal problems of our country first prior to re-establishing contact with the world step by step."

The keyword in Khieu Samphan's statements is "patriotism." He uses patriotism to define the stone age brand of communism practiced by the Khmer Rouge and uses it as well to explain all the crimes.

"Our ideal is our homeland," he declaims. "Now, as before, we are fighting for Kampuchea. But previously we thought it was necessary to pass through the stage of communism in order to assure Kampuchea's future. The real world has shown us that this is no longer possible. In our particular situation, communism means integration into the Indochinese federation dominated by Vietnam and into the Soviet bloc—which would spell the end

of our national identity. We will never accept that. To assure the survival of Kampuchea, we need national unity at home and the support of the West on the outside. For us, there is no question of ever returning to the policies of the years from 1975 to 1978."

The Khmer Rouge have joined a coalition which includes former King Norodom Sihanouk and his former minister president, Son Sann. This coalition is recognized by the United Nations as the lawful representation of Kampuchea on the strength of the votes of the Western nations. Khieu Samphan holds the post of vice president under figurehead Sihanouk; but the Khmer Rouge are in fact running the coalition. According to Khieu, they are providing 40,000 guerilla fighters, whereas the other two groups have 30,000 men between them.

"Let me say a few words about the reasons why we are in a position to count on Western support as well as pressure by the West on Vietnam," Khieu says. "Our fight in the first instance is for Kampuchea; but it is a fight which is also in the interest of the West. We are manning the same frontline as the West by resisting the Soviet push southward. Combined with our actions in the field, Western pressure may one day cause the Vietnamese to withdraw from Kampuchea."

Is it true that the Khmer Rouge put down several rebellions during their years in power and that Heng Samrin, who now rules the country with Vietnamese help, rebelled against the then Phnom Penh regime in 1978 while holding the post of commander of the eastern province ?

"Heng Samrin has no influence; he is a Quisling," Khieu says. "It is true that we had trouble, even prior to the Vietnamese invasion, with the pro-Vietnamese Vietminh Khmer. During the fight against the French, the Vietminh (the Vietnamese communists under Ho Chi Minh) sent troops into Kampuchea. At that time, they succeeded in finding some puppets. But in contrast to Laos, the Kampuchean communists all refused integration into the Indochinese federation which the statutes of the Communist Party of Indochina expressly provided for. But there were some types who decided to throw in their lot with the Vietnamese so as to be able to realize their ambitious goals. It is quite normal for us to have had some trouble with them."

What do the Khmer Rouge propose to do in case the Vietnamese really withdrew ? Do they expect to win in free elections ?

"We can hope to play at least some role in the political life of our country. We have the support of our people in our fight against the Vietnamese aggressor and we hope that this support would continue after the Vietnamese withdrew. All those who fought against the Vietnamese can count on the support of the Kampuchean people because the people have suffered so much under this aggression. Even after a Vietnamese withdrawal, the problem of the defense and the very existence of Kampuchea will remain."

Khieu Samphan really gets going when he starts to talk about the military situation. Using a green and a black pencil he draws circles and arrows on a map of Kampuchea. "Our most important front is the area around Lake Tonle-Sap. This is where a major strategic center is located and at the same time, this is one of the enemy's weak spots. Anyone who can tighten his grip on this region turns the war to his advantage—because this is a zone where the main westward lines of communication meet and where the rice granary of the country is located. Thirdly, this is the most densely populated region of all. The rail line from Phnom Penh to Battambang is the most important supply route of the Vietnamese. We destroy it and the Vietnamese repair it again—it is a daily fight. Beyond that, we attack the administrations of the communities which are only poorly defended by some demoralized Vietnamese. Thirdly, we try to disorganize the Kampuchean forces put into the field by the Vietnamese by means of military operations and propaganda."

The Khmer Rouge leader describes a number of allegedly successful military operations carried out up to the outskirts of the capital. "We elude the main body of their forces and wage a war of attrition and of nuisance raids," he says. "The Vietnamese may overrun our positions and occupy the terrain. We defend our command posts and mount attacks in the interior. The Vietnamese attack us along the Thai border; we create unrest in the center and have not had to withdraw one single combatant. We are talking here about a battle between two different strategies. For the Vietnamese, the front along the border will decide the outcome of the war. Only if they succeed in cutting our lines of communication to the interior, can they hope to influence the course of hostilities in a positive manner. Otherwise, their position will continue to deteriorate."

According to Khieu, the current Vietnamese offensive has these aims: to drive the resistance fighters away from the border areas; to destroy their command centers and their ammunition dumps and to cut their supply lines to the interior. The Vietnamese forces have gotten stuck, Khieu says, because they have run into a supply problem. They have even begun to withdraw some of their elite units from the border region.

The second-rate troops they have left behind provide the Khmer Rouge with new weak spots to exploit. "The Vietnamese have escalated the war," Khieu says, "but all in all the situation is unchanged. We have lost our positions along the border but that border is long. We are still able to supply our forces in the interior and we have enough ammunition to continue fighting the war."

Khieu Samphan believes that the new Vietnamese offensive is also designed to apply pressure on Thailand. But the Thais will withstand this mounting pressure aimed to make them change their position vis-a-vis the Kampuchean resistance. Khieu also has no complaints about the Chinese even if their scheduled "lesson" for the Vietnamese did not take place. "We can appreciate the difficulty of their position," Khieu says.

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CHINESE OBJECTIVES, TACTICS DESCRIBED IN BORDER WAR

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Jan 85 pp 9-16, 31

[Article by Trung Dung: "Determined To Defeat Beijing's War of Encroachment and Occupation Along Our Border"]

[Text] Since being defeated in their two-pronged war of aggression waged at either end of our country, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have been waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our entire country and continuously sent forces to invade our territory along Vietnam's northern border. In 1981, Chinese aggressor forces occupied a flat strip of land at 400 meters in altitude in Cao Loc District, Lang Son Province, and Hills 1800a, 1800b, 1688 and 1059 in Vi Xuyen District in Ha Tuyen Province. Our armed forces and people in these localities stubbornly resisted and retaliated against the enemy in defense of their villages, in defense of the sacred territory of the fatherland, in defense of the life and property of the ethnic minorities, inflicting heavy losses upon the enemy. However, the enemy still refused to accept defeat. In April 1984, they escalated their activities against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to a new and extremely serious level. Over a period of many consecutive days, their forces, using various types of artillery, mortars and so forth, fired hundreds of thousands of rounds into hundreds of our population centers in the provinces that lie along the Vietnam-China border, from Lai Chau to Quang Ninh. Then, massed in superior numbers, Chinese aggressor forces overran and occupied Hills 820, 636...in Trang Dinh District, Lang Son Province, and Hills 1250, 1509, 1030, 772, 233...in Vi Xuyen and Yen Minh Districts in Ha Tuyen Province. Meanwhile, many military corps and main force divisions of the enemy have been constantly massed along the border, ready to participate in the fighting. The network of strategic and tactical roads on the other side of the border has been strengthened, enlarged and upgraded. The material and technical storehouses there have been constantly augmented...

Together with these attacks, the Chinese reactionaries have been routinely inserting intelligence agents, commandoes and spies into many areas that lie deep within our country to conduct reconnaissance, gather information, kidnap cadres and civilians, steal buffalo, cattle and other property, set buildings afire and destroy the terraced fields and crops of our fellow countrymen. At the same time, Beijing has continued to intensify its insidious wide-ranging



war of sabotage within the localities of our country, especially within a number of key areas.

Clearly, this is a new escalation of military activities by Beijing, which is waging a form of protracted war of encroachment and occupation along our country's northern border in coordination with waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage within our country while making preparations to launch a large-scale war of aggression when they feel that the opportunity is right. Following the defeat of their two-pronged strategy of aggression against Vietnam in 1979 and coming at a time when the wide-ranging war of sabotage that they have been waging over the past several years has proven insufficient to conquer Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, what we are seeing today is a logical development in the basic plan of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to annex Vietnam, annex the countries of Indochina, open the way for expansion into Southeast Asia and eventually become the rulers of the world.

The situation is unfolding just as our party said it would at the 5th National Congress: "The Chinese reactionaries, with the endorsement and support of the United States, are waging a war of sabotage against Vietnam..." They "have massed troops along our northern border, provoked armed conflicts and are waging a war of encroachment and occupation in a vain attempt to nibble away at land of ours along the border; at the same time, they are actively making preparations for a large-scale war of aggression." Facts have proven that the strategy and tactics of China toward Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have never changed, except to become more hostile.

In their war of encroachment and occupation along the border, the Chinese reactionaries hope to achieve several basic objectives: "nibbling away" at our land in order to gradually expand their own territory; occupying hills and controlling favorable terrain in order to improve their battlefield deployment, establish a position from which they can constantly intimidate us along the border and prepare areas from which to launch subsequent acts of aggression as well as a large-scale war of aggression when the opportunity arises; drawing our forces, especially our main force troops, to the northern border in order to make it easy for them to wear down our forces and destroy our means of war and, at the same time, provide their army with practical training; creating conditions that will enable them to wage their wide-ranging war of sabotage more effectively, both along our border as well as throughout our country; forcing us to constantly have to deal with them, preventing us from devoting our manpower to the task of building the country, gradually weakening us and eventually forcing us to submit to them...

As facts have shown, in the course of waging their war of encroachment and occupation and their war of sabotage against our country, depending upon their intentions, upon the extent of the retaliation by our armed forces and people as well as upon developments in Indochina, within their own country and even in the international arena, the Beijing reactionaries sometimes cease their activities for awhile (as they did from mid-1981 to early 1984) and then resume the escalation of their efforts. Sometimes, under certain conditions, the objectives of their war of encroachment and occupation are also closely tied to rounding up civilians, assembling Vietnamese spies and reactionaries and fabricating a "pretext" for a war of aggression.



The war of encroachment and occupation being waged along the border by Beijing has developed from the war of sabotage. It is no longer part of the war of sabotage but is still closely tied to it. Together, they form a posture of attacks from without coordinated with attacks from within. The war of encroachment and occupation along the border might remain at the present level of intensity and drag on or might develop in one of several ways but still not become a large-scale war of aggression. However, in the right situation, once this war has been expanded to a number of areas, it can develop into a large-scale war of aggression. During the years from 1977 to 1979, we saw Beijing lead the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime into a war of encroachment and occupation that developed into a war of aggression along our country's southwestern border. Today, we must also guard against Zhongnanhai using the war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the Chinese army along our country's northern border as a type of war of aggression that is a "bridge" to a large-scale war of aggression launched by them when they feel the time is right.

As regards the forces being used to wage this war, Beijing began this form of the war of encroachment and occupation along the border using primarily local forces. Later, it began using main force troops as well. In mid-1981, for example, the enemy employed regional, mountain and border defense regiments and divisions, which were, generally speaking, local forces. However, in April and May of 1984, they employed the forces of a number of main force military corps from the Kunming, Guangzhou and other military regions and even brought the forward command posts of these regions to the front to lead and command the attacks on our territory. In addition to ground forces, the enemy can also utilize the air force units that are permanently stationed at the air fields in southern China and the naval forces of the South China Sea Fleet, which are ready to move to other positions and go into combat.

As regards tactics, the past several years have shown us that the Chinese aggressor army sometimes organizes concerted attacks to occupy a cluster of hills within one area, sometimes launches many attacks at once to occupy several clusters of hills within a number of areas in assaults directed at both general and specific targets or sometimes combine both tactics. The fighting can be continuous and prolonged and varies in intensity. These attacks are usually combined with the insertion of commandoes, intelligence agents and spies and psychological warfare concentrated along the Vietnam-China border and combined with the war of sabotage within the localities of our country. At the same time, the enemy also coordinates with the activities along the border and within the hinterland being conducted by the Cambodian and Lao reactionaries and with support from the reactionaries of the ASEAN countries, most importantly the Thai reactionaries.

Along strategic fronts on which attacks can be launched to invade our country, enemy forces are generally deployed in campaign formations consisting of a few military corps massed along the border in many waves and backed up by relatively strong reserve forces. The enemy generally opens their attacks with a force of moderate size, one military corps or an undermanned military corps, organized in a "sharp point, long tail" formation. They employ campaign firepower in widespread shelling attacks, in both the area they intend to occupy and in other areas. Infantry forces, organized in a division

or undermanned division and deployed as the "sharp point," open these attacks with the direct support of high density artillery firepower; where possible, the infantry coordinates with tank forces in the attack. Frontal assaults are coordinated with probes to envelop our forces from the rear and attacks against the flanks of our defense zones. After attacking and occupying the target area, they immediately set up permanent defenses by using and improving upon existing fortifications, bringing in pre-cast fortifications from the rear and quickly transporting building materials in from China to build a new system of fortifications; at the same time, they quickly construct a network of roads leading from China to their newly occupied positions, move firepower positions toward the front to increase their range of fire, prepare for attacks to occupy other areas... Attacking forces might also be supported by air attacks on targets within our rear area and by harassing fire or the occupation of positions in our offshore waters or on our islands by naval forces.

As they do with every other act of military provocation, the Beijing reactionaries always fabricate reasons to defend themselves against the slings and arrows of public opinion and deceive the people and army of China. They falsely accuse Vietnam of being an aggressor, of attacking and occupying one place or another on Chinese soil and thus claim that China "must retaliate in self-defense." At the very least, they hope to create the opinion among those who do not understand the situation that this is nothing more than a border dispute between two countries which share a common border that is not clearly defined at some places. The Chinese reactionaries also employ the trick of "redrawing the map" and declaring one place or another to be "Chinese soil" as the Thai reactionaries, using an American map, have done to lay claim to three villages in Laos and give themselves a pretext to invade and occupy these villages. And, the Chinese reactionaries also use the excuse of "putting more pressure on Vietnam" to support the activities of the reactionaries along the border between Cambodia and Thailand...

Clearly, Beijing is employing the traditional tactics used by the great Han powers in history and using the border issue to gradually expand their territory into Vietnam, in particular, as well as the neighboring countries, in general.

The above mentioned objectives in the war of encroachment and occupation being waged along our border and the forces and tactics being employed in this war have made the fight between ourselves and the enemy in the areas along the border between our two countries a bitter, complicated and prolonged fight. However, this war effort of theirs is flawed by many weaknesses that Beijing cannot overcome.

To begin with, the war of encroachment and occupation being waged along the border is the product of the continuous defeat of the strategies and strategic measures that have been applied by Beijing to oppose the Vietnamese revolution. These strategies have ranged from the strategy of supporting us while thwarting and impeding our efforts to win victory in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States to the strategy of using the lackey army of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary to invade Vietnam along the southwestern border and the strategy of directly using the Chinese army to invade Vietnam

along the northern border and then the strategy of waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage to weaken our country, to force us to submit to them and waging the current war of encroachment and occupation along the border.

Both the war of encroachment and occupation as well as the war of sabotage lie within the category of unjust and unpopular wars of aggression. As revolutionary imposters conducting a counter-revolutionary war, the Beijing reactionaries must, of course, tell a bunch of lies to conceal what they are doing and can prevent some persons from seeing the obvious facts. But how can they conceal their actions from the people of China, especially the inhabitants of the border areas, or from Chinese soldiers when they are driven into Vietnam to wage a war of aggression? The authorities in Beijing, therefore, can in no way evade being denounced by just public opinion in China and throughout the world. The Chinese aggressor army cannot be instilled with the fighting spirit that its leaders desire and will surely quickly collapse when our armed forces and people give them the punishment they deserve. That Beijing is opposed to Vietnam, opposed to the Soviet Union and opposed to the world revolutionary movement is becoming more obvious with each day that passes. The internal discord among China's rulers is also mounting.

In waging its war of encroachment and occupation along our country's border, Beijing seeks to create instability along the Vietnam-China border and have an impact upon our rear area; however, the situation within the areas along the Sino-Viet border is also unstable and having an impact upon their rear area. Beijing seeks to impede the socialist construction of Vietnam but China's "four modernizations" plan is also being adversely affected by the fact that China's armed forces are becoming bogged down and worn down in the protracted border war.

In their war of aggression against Vietnam, the military doctrine in which Beijing still indoctrinates Chinese commanders and soldiers is being turned upside down. How can they wage a "people's war" within the war being fought against the people of Vietnam and even go against the interests of the people of China? On the other hand, due to political reasons and the military factors associated with their war of encroachment and occupation, the aggressor forces of China face definite limitations with regard to how they can deploy their battlefield positions, how they can utilize infantry forces and which methods of fighting they can employ. The deeper they move into our country and the longer they remain here, the more these limitations become obvious and the more the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of the enemy are exacerbated.

To defend the fatherland's frontier, protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our nation and protect the peaceful labor being performed throughout the country to build socialism, our armed forces and all our people are determined to defeat the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation, regardless of this war's scale; defeat their wide-ranging war of sabotage; be prepared to crush a war of aggression of any size launched by Beijing; closely coordinate their combat missions, the maintenance of combat readiness and the strengthening of the national defense and security system with socialist construction throughout the country; and fulfill their international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

Defeating the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation is an extremely important task of our armed forces and people today. It is closely tied to and must be closely coordinated with the other tasks we face throughout the country. Our armed forces and people must truly wage a national, full-scale people's war within the areas along our fatherland's northern border to preserve our territorial integrity and defeat every scheme of the enemy.

The people's war being waged against the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation is governed by the common laws that apply in a people's war to defend the fatherland but is also unique in certain ways and raises many problems that must be correctly resolved in order for victory to be won.

Most importantly, it is necessary to strengthen the centralized, unified leadership provided by the party, from the basic units and localities to the central level, as part of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages" so that appropriate efforts can be focused on this important task. We must continue to fully comply with the resolution of the 5th Party Plenum and "attach foremost importance to socialist construction" while "not relaxing our efforts to strengthen the national defense system and defend the country for one moment." We must recognize the serious nature of the war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the enemy along the border, the war which, although not a large-scale war of aggression, does not lie within the category of a war of sabotage either, a war which is closely related to and could develop into a large-scale war of aggression if we do not stop and defeat the enemy's armed forces. Of course, the specific tasks faced within each locality and sector differ; however, this is a task of the entire country and all the people, a task within which the armed forces and people of the six provinces along the northern border and the armed forces and people of the frontline districts along the border have the direct responsibility of fighting the enemy. The nucleus of this fight is the people's armed forces, mainly stationary forces, which consist of the main force troops stationed within the locality, border defense troops, local troops and militia and self-defense forces.

The frontline provinces and districts along the northern border must utilize each and every force they have and achieve a combined strength with which to defeat the war of encroachment and occupation; at the same time, they must continue to build localities that are strong in every respect. There must be close coordination among the various sectors and levels under the direct leadership of the party committees. The people's committees must manage every job that is necessary. The local military agencies on the various levels together with the commanders of main force units must work closely together in combat and the buildup of forces, in production, in providing security for production, in defending the locality, in protecting the life and property of the state, the collective and the people.

A brotherhood must be established between every province in the rear and one of the provinces on the front. The sectors and localities of the entire country must join efforts and work to truly develop the border provinces into strategic national defense units, truly develop the border districts into fortresses defending the fatherland and establish the solid, impenetrable battlefield deployment of the people's war against the war of encroachment and

occupation, a deployment that will facilitate the coordination of the two modes of war: the local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps on the frontline along the border and the seacoast.

The entire country must provide the border areas with combat support. The entire rear area must support the frontlines. While stepping up production, strengthening the national defense system, strengthening our security, winning victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and maintaining good combat readiness within the locality, every effort must be made to fulfill their obligations to supply manpower and materiel to the front, obligations which must be fulfilled in exact accordance with all norms and plans concerning the amount and qualifications of manpower, the quantity and quality of supplies, delivery dates and delivery sites.

The units on the front must be strong units that have all the troops, cadres and equipment required under their table of organization and equipment. These units must be well trained and well disciplined and must be guaranteed of receiving all the logistical and rear service support they need, including necessary stockpiles so that they can win victory under all circumstances.

Keeping abreast of the enemy situation and accurately predicting their plans and tactics are important if we are to take the initiative in thwarting the enemy's attacks. Every level must be required to assess and report on the enemy situation. An information network extending from the villages to the districts and provinces, from the guard positions along the border, the forward military positions, the bases and base complexes to the regiments, divisions, military corps and the military region must be established. Importance must be attached to setting up a network for the dissemination of notices on the enemy situation via the horizontal relationships that exist on each level, between localities and troop units and among the various branches of the military and the forces stationed within the same area.

When the enemy launches attacks to encroach upon and occupy territory of ours, we must effectively organize the fight against them. Local units must kill many enemy forces and destroy many of their means of war, must firmly defend their battle positions, firmly defend each bit of soil of the fatherland. Multi-range and multi-directional firepower units must promptly and capably support combat units. Units in the rear must quickly move to their stipulated positions and be ready to fight the enemy. A solid, deep battlefield deployment must be established... Together with fighting the enemy, we must actively proselyte enemy troops and the Chinese civilians who live along the other side of the border and expose to them the lies and psychological warfare tactics of Beijing. In the course of their fight against the enemy's attacks, units and localities must not only organize the command of combat operations well, but also organize good combat support. The rear must promptly provide the frontline with material and moral support and competently assist the frontline in resolving the problems faced in combat and after combat.

The people's war against the war of encroachment and occupation along the border must be guided in a very flexible and creative manner. We must fully practice the strategic thinking of taking the offensive, establishing effective control and taking the offensive, taking the offensive and

establishing control in a manner consistent with the conditions that exist within each area, especially in the sparsely populated, mountainous jungle areas where not much economic, cultural or communications development has occurred but where forces and positions have been prepared in advance and constantly improved. Combat operations must be based on the specific situation: these operations can be organized as phases of activity or as a number of campaigns of suitable size and form. All forms of warfare--defensive, offensive and counter-offensive--must be employed and closely coordinated.

A wide variety of tactics and fighting methods must be utilized, especially the tactics and fighting methods of the local people's armed forces, local troops and militia and self-defense forces. We must fight from within bases, base complexes and villages; ambush and conduct raids on the enemy, attack moving enemy forces and attack enemy forces within strong fortifications; utilize modern as well as crude weapons, such as stakes, mines, booby traps and so forth in a way well suited to the strengths, characteristics and functions of each element of the military. When enemy forces occupy a place, we must encircle the position they hold, direct sniper fire at them and block their resupply routes. We can also use the forces at our disposal to wipe them out, both before and after they consolidate their position.

Regardless of which tactic or method of fighting is employed, we must achieve high combat efficiency, efficiency in each battle and overall efficiency on the entire battlefield. Only in this way can we thwart the enemy's plan to wear us down and, instead, wear them down and make their position an increasingly difficult one. High combat efficiency means economizing on manpower, weapons and ammunition, inflicting heavy casualties upon the enemy and destroying many of their means of war while suffering few losses ourselves. To accomplish this, we must possess a high will to fight, be very resourceful and creative, select methods of fighting that are truly well suited and attach importance to achieving the element of surprise in terms of where we attack, when we attack and the forces and methods of fighting we employ. We must conceal our forces well, make good use of decoy forces and constantly concern ourselves with strengthening our fortifications and strengthening the guard and patrol forces along the border so that we are not deceived or taken by surprise by the enemy.

Along with winning victory over the enemy forces that encroach upon and occupy land of ours along the border, our armed forces must work with the people to strengthen the national defense system, combine national defense with the maintenance of security, win victory over the enemy's war of sabotage and be prepared to defeat a large-scale war of aggression. We must continue to build the defenses of the entire country and coordinate with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia to establish a strategic posture for the countries on the Indochina peninsula that is stronger and more solid than ever before. Constant efforts must be made to improve the overall quality and build the fighting strength of all three elements of the military, of all services and branches. Studies must be conducted to improve upon the military science and art of a people's war to defend the fatherland, which must encompass the pressing problems being faced in the people's war against the enemy's encroachment and occupation along the border and other basic, long-



range issues so that requirements can be met in every war situation. Good troop training must be provided for the units on the front and the units in the rear. Frontline units must closely coordinate training with combat operations and the maintenance of combat readiness and must promptly gain experience from their battles so that they can constantly achieve higher combat efficiency and improve the unit's quality. Units in the rear must combine training in basic, long-range matters with disseminating the latest combat experiences gained on the front in order to be ready to take the place of or reinforce the units on the border so that victory can be won in combat.

To fulfill the large tasks being faced today, the tasks of defeating the enemy forces in their encroachment and occupation along the border, winning victory over the enemy's war of sabotage and maintaining our readiness to deal with a large-scale war of aggression that could break out at any time, our army must be of high quality and sufficient size so that it can assume strategic positions on the various battlefields and fulfill its international obligation.

Under these conditions, our army must succeed in its task of working, producing and building the economy, of helping to build the country, building socialism, thereby laying the base for building and strengthening the national defense system and also creating the conditions for meeting some of the material and spiritual needs of troops, reducing the contributions made by the people and economizing on stage budget expenditures. A specific percentage of the army's troop strength and units must specialize in economic work in coordination with maintaining combat readiness. The other units of the army must adopt norms and plans suited to their specific situation on the production of some of what they need. This is a very practical and pressing issue. It is also part of the character and tradition of our army, part of a long-range policy in the defense and development of our fatherland. We must develop upon the strengths that lie in military organization; study and correctly apply the laws of economic organization and the principles of socialist economic management; properly implement the various policies that pertain to troops engaged in economic work; and guarantee high productivity, high quality and high efficiency in productive labor and economic work.

Our army, which fights and maintains combat readiness well and is also skilled in economic work, is working with all the people to accelerate the building of the country in coordination with strengthening the national defense system so that our country overcomes every difficulty and obstacle and becomes stronger with each passing day, stronger in every respect. This is also a way to thwart the scheme of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to weaken us and win victory over the enemy in both their war of encroachment and occupation along the border and their wide-ranging war of sabotage within our country.

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**MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY**

**PARTY-POLITICAL WORK ON NORTHERN BORDER DISCUSSED**

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 9-19

[Article by Lt. Gen. Nguyen Nam Khanh: "The Party-Political Work in the Combat of Basic Units on the Northern Border"]

[Text] Since the spring of 1979, although heavily defeated in two wars of aggression against our country the Chinese reactionaries have strengthened their alliance with the U.S. imperialists and continued to carry out a basic, long-range scheme to weaken and annex our country and all three Indochinese countries, expand to the entire Southeast Asia region, and carry out their counterrevolutionary global strategy.

While preparing for a large-scale war of aggression against our country, they have feverishly promoted a many-sided war of destruction, including economic, military, political, ideological, and psychological aspects. Especially, since the beginning of April 1984 their military activities in the northern border region have clearly increased: they used division and crops-sized infantry units to occupy a number of high points in Ha Tuyen and Lang Son, fired a large number of artillery shells over a long period of time into many places, concentrating on a number of key areas, etc.

Along with their armed encroachment and shelling activities, they have stepped up their commando and reconnaissance activities, and promoted psychological warfare and espionage, to create confusion and division among the ethnic minorities and sabotage us politically and organizationally, in hopes of creating a tense situation with regard to political security, social order, production, and life in the border area.

The schemes and methods of the enemy during the recent period have signified a new escalation in their armed encroachment activities along the border and in their many-sided sabotage activities intended to carry out their basic, long-range plot against our country.

The fact that "the Chinese expansionists are stepping up their war of encroachment on the northern border and at the same time feverishly intensifying their sabotage war activities in all regards,"(1) accompanied by their preparations for a large-scale war of aggression when they have an opportunity, proves that the nature, plots, strategy, and policy have not



changed but have become more reactionary. As long as they are in power in China they will continue to carry out their plot to weaken and annex Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and the Vietnam-China border is a border of enmity. The fight of our soldiers and people to defeat the enemy's encroachment activities and solidly defend the northern frontier of the homeland will continue to be difficult, fierce, complicated, and long-range.

During the recent period, in combination with the other activities the party-political work has developed its effectiveness in the combat mission. Most of the basic units on the border have fulfilled their missions to varying degrees. Some elements have fought well, smashed many enemy attacks, killed many of the enemy, and held their ground. Many cadres and men have been exemplary with regard to a spirit of courage, resoluteness, initiative, and creativity in combat.

However, in view of the new development of the enemy's encroachment activities, the progress of the party-political work in the basic units fighting on the northern border is not yet truly solid.

Defeating the enemy's encroachment plot and acts along the border is a common mission of the nation's soldiers and people. It is the responsibility of all levels and a principal, direct, and permanent political mission of the basic units fighting on the northern border.

The enemy's war of encroachment along the border is closely combined with their many-sided war of destruction and can take place on many scales and under many different circumstances. In order to defeat all kinds of encroachment activities, a matter of decisive importance for all basic units is closely combining all tasks of the units, combining the strength of the units with the strengths of the localities, and combining the strength of the basic units with the strength of the echelons above the basic level, to create great combined strength at each point and in the entire border area, smash all plots and schemes of the enemy, and solidly defend the homeland's northern frontier.

The party-political work in combat is a very important task which, along with the other tasks, creates the greatest strength for the basic units in the mission of defeating the encroachment activities of the Beijing reactionaries along the northern border.

The party-political work in the combat of basic units has many contents. Here we will deal only with the matter of strengthening fighting will.

This is a major problem of the party-political work. One should not simply think that strengthening fighting will is only the result of the political-party work, of elevating consciousness and thought. Fighting will must be manifested in both thought and action throughout the period of preparing for combat and organizing combat, as well as in the course of combat. Therefore, the party-political work must enter deeply into the military missions and into supporting and serving combat, develop effectiveness in both the political-ideological and organizational spheres, and enable the troops not only to have strong fighting will and technical and tactical skill, but also to have a

basis and conditions for solidly ensuring their fighting will and winning victory.

Thus strengthening combat will is an all-round task with a strong revolutionary and scientific nature. On the basis of the actual combat on the northern border during the recent period it is possible to bring out some principal contents of the party-political work of the basic units in strengthening determination to fighting against enemy encroachment.

First of all, it is necessary to enter deeply into grasping the enemy's situation, understand the enemy, and correctly evaluate the enemy in order to defeat them. That is a very important basis for creating fighting will and accurate operational plans.

Understanding and correctly evaluating the enemy is a foremost responsibility of the commanders of functional organs, and at the same time is the responsibility of all cadres and enlisted men. The most important thing in the party-political work is that it is necessary to enable everyone, especially the cadres and party members and above all the managing cadres, who directly fulfill the mission of understanding the enemy, to fully understand our Party's viewpoints about evaluating the enemy and the comparison of forces between the enemy and ourselves in the enemy's specific encroachment activities against our country's border.

The party-political work at the basic level must stress elevating the political level and political responsibility of the cadres, party members, and enlisted men who are directly responsible for studying and grasping the enemy. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the educational work to fully explain the Party's viewpoints to each cadre and enlisted man and create a high degree of unanimity about evaluating the enemy throughout the unit. It is not only necessary to be unanimous in evaluating their nature and plots, but also in evaluating the strengths and weaknesses and in foreseeing the combat schemes and specific fighting methods they may use under the different combat circumstances.

Only by firmly grasping the Party's viewpoints can there be guidelines for avoiding mistakes when evaluating the enemy or overevaluating their strength, which leads to confusion and hesitation, or exaggerating their weaknesses, which leads to oversimplification and subjectively underestimating the enemy. Only by evaluating their schemes and fighting methods is it possible to develop our strengths and overcome our weaknesses in order to win certain victory.

Therefore, correct evaluation of the enemy is also an important basis on which to build and strengthen the troops' confidence in victory.

We must evaluate the enemy in order to defeat them. Therefore, the highest requirement is correctly evaluating them. Overevaluating or underevaluating the enemy, seeing only the strengths and not the weaknesses, or vice versa, creates difficulties for fulfilling missions and often results in losses. In the phase of preparing for combat it is necessary to foresee the maximum efforts of the enemy in order to, on that basis, set requirements for making

fuller, more meticulous preparations and be prepared to cope with the most difficult, complicated circumstances. Thus it is even more important that we take the initiative and ensure victory no matter how the fighting develops.

In evaluating the enemy it is necessary to enable cadres and enlisted men to realize that the strategic operational object of our soldiers and people in war to defend the homeland and opposition to the war of aggression along the border is the reactionary Chinese army. The enemy main-force troops are the basic, ordinary tactical object of our soldiers and people. The direct operational object of the basic units may be local troops, main-force troops, or a combination of the two. The party-political work must enable each cadre and enlisted man to clearly understand that if the enemy must use main-force troops their local troops have been unable to fulfill their encroachment mission, and that that is the best opportunity for us to inflict casualties on and annihilate their "trump card" manpower. We must create for the troops, including the main-force troops, the local troops, the border defense troops, and the militia and self-defense forces, a strong fighting will, strike directly at the enemy main-force troops, and annihilate large number of the enemy.

The foremost political mission of each basic combat unit is defeating its direct operational object. Therefore, the party-political work in the basic units must not only enable the cadres and enlisted men to fully understand the Party's viewpoints vis-a-vis evaluating the enemy but, even more important, on that basis it is necessary to motivate everyone to clearly understand which unit is their direct enemy, what its designation is, how large their forces are, how they are deployed and used, and what their numbers, quality, command cadres, organization, weapons, equipment, fighting capabilities, reinforcement capabilities, strong points, political-morale status, etc., are.

Only by such full understanding of the enemy is it possible to reach correct conclusions about them, and only then can there be a basis for the cadres and enlisted men to clearly see the missions assigned by the upper echelon and clearly understand the decisions and fighting methods of the commanders.

In order to defeat the enemy, an important matter is understanding their actions, i.e. understanding their tactical and combat stratagems. That is an especially important requirement of cadres at all levels in the basic units, for in order to defeat the strategy of an aggressor in war one must begin with defeating their combat and tactical stratagems, and that is the direct mission of basic-level combat units.

In their war of encroachment along our country's northern border, the enemy, who have always been very dangerous, because they have been continually defeated have continually changed their combat and tactical stratagems, and even their strategic methods. If we do not monitor continually and closely, and clearly analyze the reasons for, those changes, in combat we can easily become rigid, which leads to passivity and confusion in countering the enemy. But if the party-political work pays attention to mobilizing the cadres and men to closely monitor the enemy in the course of combat, it is entirely possible to contribute to discovering changes in the enemy's combat and tactical stratagems and contribute to examining and correctly evaluating the

strengths and weakness of each stratagem, and promptly contribute opinions to the commanders regarding the ideological work and the organizational fighting methods effective in smashing those stratagems.

Thus the party-political work in the basic combat units in the missions of grasping, understanding, and fighting the enemy must receive attention and be carried out dynamically and creatively. It is necessary to enter deeply into the missions and methods of the enemy's specific encroachment stratagems and enter deeply into each element, aspect, and mission, without being superficial and general.

Fully understanding the missions assigned to the unit by the upper echelon and the decisions and operational plans of the commander is a solid basis on which to build fighting will.

Victory in combat is the highest political mission of the basic-level unit. That is also the principal, foremost requirement of the party-political work in the combat of the basic-level units.

Only by fully understanding the combat missions can the party-political work contribute to victory in combat. It is necessary not only to enable all cadres and enlisted men to clearly understand the common combat missions of the unit, but also to enable everyone, both the combat forces and the forces serving combat, to understand the specific missions of his detachment or element, especially the detachments and elements fulfilling missions which have a decisive effect on the battle as a whole. For example, with regard to detachments with offensive missions it is necessary to build a spirit of brave combat and resolutely wiping out the enemy troops, whether main-force troops or local troops, master the battlefield, and capture prisoners of war and weapons. With regard to elements defending strong points, they must resolutely hold their positions and be prepared to repel many assaults by the enemy, without "looking behind them" toward the rear or abandoning their positions before ordered to do so, take the initiative in coordinating with the other strong points, and solidly defend the areas assigned them. The detachments in rear areas must create consciousness of always looking to the front, be prepared to reinforce, supplement, and replace units at the front, and create the most favorable conditions for the front to maintain its fighting strength in order to victoriously fulfill the missions.

Once there are specific missions the commanders will make combat decisions to victoriously fulfill those missions. The intentions and combat decisions of the commander are the objectives and action guidelines of all cadres and enlisted men in the unit. The party-political work must firmly grasp those combat decisions, and educate, mobilize, and organize everyone to develop their political-morale strength to a high degree, heighten consciousness of strictly carrying out all directives and orders of the commander, and enable the combat decisions of the commander and the combat missions of the unit to be carried out victoriously. It is necessary to enable each cadre and enlisted man to firmly grasp the intentions of the commanders and understand correctly and fully the measures proposed by the commander to defeat the combat stratagems of the enemy in the various circumstances that may arise.

The party-political work must participate in helping the commanders firmly grasp and correctly and fully understand the intentions of the upper echelon and the missions it assigns to the unit, and enable the commanders to clearly understand the political-morale and organizational situations of the unit, and along with the other tasks contribute positively to making the combat decisions of the commanders truly accurate and specific. Once the commander has made a decision the party-political work must not only enable everyone to fully understand it but encourage the cadres and enlisted men to heighten their sense of responsibility and creativity, and seek all ways to overcome difficulties, develop the advantages, and transform the intentions and combat decisions of the commander into the will and action of the entire unit throughout the process of preparing to fight and fighting.

The party-political work must also enter deeply into the work of supporting combat and the combat-support forces, and contribute positively to creating the highest conditions for the victorious carrying out of the commander's decisions.

Thus the task of fully explaining combat missions is a very difficult, very comprehensive task and must be carried out with regard to all cadres and enlisted men in the unit to enable everyone to have firm confidence in victory and clearly understand what they must do and how they must do it to fulfill as well as possible the unit's combat missions.

Developing the effectiveness of the party-political work in training troops, building basic units that are strong in all regards, and improving the abilities and combat skills of the cadres and men creates solid strength with which to defeat all encroachment plots and schemes of the enemy.

The fighting strength of a unit is a solid basis on which to create determination to fight and fight to win. That strength is the combined result of many factors and takes form in an extremely meticulous and arduous process of building and forging with regard to the unit as a whole as well as each cadre and enlisted man.

The party-political work in basic units must firmly grasp the slogan of building in order to fight and fight in order to build. That is a very important guidance thought which the party-political work at the basic combat unit level which must be firmly grasped in the missions of training and building units. It is necessary to enable each cadre and enlisted man to fully understand that the highest goal of building and training is fighting and winning victory. The party-political work as well as the other tasks are intended to create fighting strength in order to defeat the encroachment schemes of the enemy and enable the units to fulfill as well as possible the combat missions assigned by the upper echelon.

In the training and party-political work it is necessary to develop their role and, along with the other activities, make training appropriate to the unit's combat missions and requirements. It is necessary to closely combine basic training with training in accordance with the combat plans drafted by the upper echelons of the commander. When a unit is assigned a mission it must train in fighting methods appropriate to that mission. Training must be in

accord with those fighting methods. Each time troops are replaced there must be supplementary training to enable everyone to understand the missions and fighting methods and to expertly use the weapons at hand.

The enemy are continually changing their combat stratagems. In order to defeat them it is necessary to train the troops to expertly use ordinary fighting methods to smash those schemes, such as fighting the enemy when they deploy combat formations, fight the enemy as they approach the front line, attack the enemy when they break through our lines, counterattack to recover lost ground, fight the enemy when they attack the main line of resistance by means of many assault waves, fight the enemy when they penetrate deeply to attack from the rear, launch surprise attacks, etc.

In the basic combat units it is necessary to pay attention to training and mobilizing the cadres and men to firmly grasp and master the various kinds of weapons, facilities, and weapons at hand, and to maintain them well, use them for a long time, economize, and attain high effectiveness in combat. At the same time, it is necessary to guide the cadres and men so that they can know the capabilities, effects, and method of use of the enemy's weapons and equipment, so that in combat we can use their equipment to fight them. Especially, it is necessary to overcome the situation of firing haphazardly, carelessly, and without taking into consideration effectiveness, or allowing weapons and equipment to become degraded, damaged, or lost.

In the building process, the party-political work must pay all-out attention to teaching cadres to have consciousness of strictly enforcing army discipline and carrying out the orders of the commander. It is necessary to enable the troops to understand that enforcing discipline and carrying out orders are parts of our army's nature and tradition, and are elements which create strength with which to victoriously fulfill all missions that are assigned. Unless ordered to do so, troops may not leave their positions. Battlefield discipline must be fully observed. When difficulties are encountered they must be resolutely overcome, without waiting and hesitation.

An urgent matter with regard to basic-level combat units on the border is that it is necessary to pay all-out attention to the morale and material lives of the troops. That is also a content which cannot be regarded lightly in the party-political work. It is necessary to fully implement and get onto the right track the system of political reporting, so that the troops can understand the stands and policies of the Party and state, understand the situation of the nation, and have increased confidence in the great undertaking of building socialism and the victories our people have achieved, and understand the difficulties which our Party, population, and army must endeavor to overcome. It is necessary to ensure that publications and letters reached the soliders. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize the role of the Party organizations and the responsibility of the commanders and bring into play the consciousness and collective mastership of the cadres and enlisted men in order to improve material living conditions, pay attention to meals, sanitation, disease prevention, housing, and activity areas, and create for the troops a life of combat, happiness, and optimism.



In training and building it is necessary to firmly grasp the central slogan of building of a corps of basic-level cadres, for those cadres directly carry out the tactics and fighting methods that have been selected. That corps of cadres consists of commanders from the squad leader and platoon leader levels on up. At the same time it is necessary to pay attention to building the corps of basic-level political cadres.

In building and deploying the corps of command cadres it is necessary to pay attention to will, moral quality, and ability, according to the requirements of the combat missions. The supplementary training of cadres must be comprehensive and include combat skills, command principles and experiences, troop management, methods of dealing with combat circumstances, etc., to enable the basic-level cadres to be capable of fulfilling the missions assigned them.

Command cadres must be steeled in actual combat. It is necessary to deploy the necessary numbers of cadres for battles, to serve as reserve forces, and as replacements, and avoid unnecessary losses or use them in accordance with their functions and positions, and not bringing into play the capabilities and strengths of the cadres. Along with the localities, it is necessary to contribute to building a people's war battlefield status, develop combined strength in each area, and defeat the enemy's border encroachment war and many-sided war of destruction.

Fighting against the border encroachment war of the Beijing reactionaries is a mission of the entire nation, the entire Party, the entire army. Along the northern border it is necessary to cope directly with the enemy every day and every hour.

The entire nation must aid the border. Along the border very great efforts must be made to create combined strength in each area in order to defeat the enemy. That is the solid basis of all victories.

The party-political work must enable all cadres and men to fully understand that to create combined strength is to bring into play our basic strength and decisions in order to defeat the enemy, while at the same time creating peerless strength in a long-range, fierce test of strength with an enemy with more troops and weapons. In sparsely populated areas along the border the creation of combined strength of both the soldiers and people, and close coordination among forces in the area are matters of basic, urgent significance.

The fighting strength of a unit consists not only of the strength of that unit but is also a matter of closely combining it with the strength of the locality in the area of operations, in order to, along with the locality, build the people's war battle status. Therefore, the party-political work must pay attention to consolidating the relationship of the soldiers and people sharing the same will and create combined strength to fight the encroaching enemy in each area. In combat it is necessary to develop coordinated strength among all forces in the area: main-force troops, local troops, border defense troops, militia and self-defense forces, the forces serving combat, etc.

In order to create that combined strength, it is first of all necessary to continually strengthen the life-or-death relationship between the troops and the people in fulfilling the two strategic missions in the localities. It is necessary to bring into play the strength of the people and the forces and form combined strength in the area so that they can work together to build a people's war status, build a solid defense line, build on-the-spot rear services bases, and bring all capabilities of the locality into play to serve combat and engage in combat.

The units must know how to rely solidly on the local party committee echelons, governmental administrations, and people to fulfill combat missions and increase the unit's fighting strength. To build a locality that is strong in all regards is to build the direct rear area of local people's war and meet the requirements of the unit's combat readiness and combat readiness missions. National defense must be closely combined with security and combat to annihilate the enemy with opposition to their psychological warfare and espionage warfare in order to build strong, safe, and pure areas.

Efforts must be concentrated on bringing about a transformation in the quality of the basic units' combat force so that they can be capable of defeating the enemy's border encroachment plots and schemes.

The solid strength of our army and units is manifested above all and directly in the basic level units.

The basic units fighting on the northern border must cope directly, continually, and over a long period of time with the enemy, and must cope every day and every hour with their encroachment and sabotage plots and schemes. Only if the basic-level combat units are strong can they fulfill their political missions. Therefore, the party-political work must, along with the military, rear services, and technical work build and strengthen the combativeness of the basic-level units in all regards.

In the basic units the basic-level party organizations lead and serve as the hard core of the units in all regards. Therefore, it is necessary to continually build pure, strong basic party organizations to serve as the hard core in building comprehensively strong basic-level units with strong combat force.

The building of basic-level party organizations includes many contents. Here we will set forth only some principal matters regarding political, ideological, and organizational construction.

First of all it is necessary to raise the organizational level of the basic-level party organizations with regard to all basic political missions of the basic-level political organizations: fighting victoriously, defeating all schemes and forces of the enemy, and transforming basic-level units into politically strong "bastions."

The basic party organization in combat units must firmly grasp those basic missions and requirements, concentrate their leadership, and resolve the



problems that are posed in accordance with the viewpoints and thoughts of the party and with the actual situation.

The party-political work contents brought out above are matters of foremost importance which the basic-level which the basic party organizations in combat units must fulfill by all means in order to increase combativeness and defeat the enemy troops.

On the basis of that common leadership mission, each type of unit fulfilling different missions must concretize it so that it can be appropriate to their mission. For example, units fulfilling defensive missions must defend their positions, continually defeat enemy attacks, kill or wound many enemy troops, defeat all of their specific combat stratagems, defend the land, the people, and production, use ammunition, weapons, and equipment with the greatest economy and effectiveness, and simultaneously fight and consolidate our forces, battle deployment, and defensive positions. Units fulfilling counteroffensive and offensive missions must rapidly stop the attack, wipe out enemy units, capture prisoners and weapons, master the battlefield and theater, and create conditions favorable for continuing to attack and annihilate the enemy. The basic-level units in the combat arms and armed forces branches, the local units, and the border defense units must, depending on their nature and missions, utilize the above requirements in a manner appropriate to their missions.

Second, building a corps of party members with the necessary numbers and high quality and bringing into play their leadership role and exemplary vanguard role in fulfilling the combat missions and the other missions. It is necessary to, on the basis of the basic political missions of the basic-level party organizations in combat units, set forth requirements, contents, and standards for steeling party members, correctly evaluating quality, and correctly determining strengths and weaknesses in order to have specific guidelines for educating party members, and to meticulously organize forces, including both leadership forces and hard-core forces, in order to promptly replace elements when necessary and ensure strong people and strong organizations capable of victoriously fulfilling missions.

In the course of combat it is necessary to assign specific missions to each party member and tightly manage party members in the course of fulfilling missions. Each time a combat situation arises it is necessary to clearly determine the role of party members in fulfilling the unit's missions. After each battle it is necessary to investigate in correctly evaluate the quality of each party member. The situation of superficial evaluation and of the contents of party member education not being specific or tied in with the fulfillment of missions must be overcome.

Third, it is necessary to build party chapters in combat companies. In both coordinated combat by armed forces branches or combat arms and independent combat the role of detachments and companies is very important, for detachments and companies are usually the forces which directly engage the enemy from the beginning. The success or failure of detachments and companies in combat has a great effect on the entire unit. Therefore, there must be party chapters at the company level and the party chapters must be

sufficiently strong to lead the company and serve as its hard core in the course of combat.

The party chapters must closely manage the party members according to the mission and responsibility of each person. Specific tasks must be assigned to each party member and there must be continuous inspection and observation in order to educate party members. The activities of the party chapters must be brief, practical, and of high quality; criticism and self-criticism must be emphasized, experiences must be continually isolated, and the quality of leadership must be improved. The building of party chapters must be tied in with the building of Youth Union chapters. Attention must be paid to educating youths, bringing into play the assault role of youths in combat missions, and by that means selecting outstanding Youth Union members and youths for admission into the Party.

Fourth, it is necessary to stress improving the quality and leadership ability of the basic-level party committees. The basic-level party units must be continually strengthened with regard to quantity and quality and the Party activity principles must be strictly observed. The party committees must firmly grasp the basic political mission: leading the unit in the good fulfillment of its combat missions. The activity system must be maintained and combativeness in activities must be strengthened. The activities of party committees must truly be struggles to maintain and manifest the viewpoints and lines of the Party while the important leadership problems are discussed and resolved must serve to bring about a true transformation in increasing the unit's combativeness.

The party committees must firmly grasp the principle of democratic centralism. All matters must be decided by the majority and collective leadership must be combined with individual responsibility, especially on the part of such comrades with important responsibility as party committee secretaries, commanders, and deputy commanders for political matters. The new leadership mechanism of the Party in the basic-level party organizations must be correctly implemented in peacetime as well as in wartime.

The political organs must have plans to operate in the course of combat in order to continually bolster the troops' determination to fight.

Determination to fight must be built not only in the phase of preparing for combat but also must be carried out actively and in a planned manner throughout the course of combat.

In the phase of preparing for combat it is necessary to enable every element, cadre, and enlisted man to unify their assessments of the enemy and ourselves, have confidence in our fighting methods, and understand what they must do and how they must do it to fulfill their combat missions well. It is necessary to bring into play the spirit of mastership, initiative, and creativity of the cadres and enlisted men, find truly good ways to resolve the difficulties, fulfill the missions by all means, and transform the decisions of the commander into actual victories. The party-political work must enable the entire unit to have firm confidence in victory and have a strong fighting will and a spirit of readiness to sacrifice one's life and achieve merit. It is

necessary to enter deeply into the various aspects of preparing for combat, and to investigate and evaluate the true nature of the preparatory work.

In combat it is necessary to do a good job of encouraging the troops on the battlefield and during combat. Changes in the thought of troops during combat must be firmly grasped in order to guide everyone's actions and determine the roles. It is necessary to promptly fulfill the requirements of combat, encourage all cadres and enlisted men to do a truly good job of carrying out the directives and orders of the commander, the policies regarding disabled veterans and war dead, and battlefield discipline, and promptly isolate experiences in order to fight more effectively. We must be truly concerned with the material lives and morale of the troops in order to ensure continuous, long-range fighting.

After combat there are many developments in the thought of troops. After combat the ideological and organizational tasks are often very complicated. The most important matter of the party-political work is that it is necessary to promptly evaluate the situation and rapidly stabilize the unit with regard to politics-ideology and organization and, along with the commander, immediately bolster the troops and the battlefield status, and prepare to continue to fight. It is necessary to carry out the isolating of experiences, grading, and rewarding, and on that basis promote the development of the Party and the Youth Union. Therefore, if it is to be carried out well the party-political work must foresee developments and prepare in advance in accordance with many different plans, to avoid being passive and confused and responding to the situation in a piecemeal fashion. All tasks must be carried out very urgently and on the spot in order to maintain, consolidate, and develop the units' combativeness, and be prepared in all ways to enter into the new battle.

The troops' determination to fight is based on a strong revolutionary and scientific basis. Buidling determination to fight must be carried out meticulously with regard to politics, ideology, and organization in all spheres: political, military, rear services, technical, etc.

The party-political work is part of the Party's leadership activity in the army. The party-political work in the basic-level combat units must strongly develop its effectiveness in the process of preparing for combat and in combat, in order to, along with the other tasks, make even greater contributions to defeating all encroachment plots and schemes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and solidly defend the homeland's northern border.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Notice of the Seventh Plenum of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee (fifth term).

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CSO: 4209/328

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

STRENGTHENING OF PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OVER ARMY URGED

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 1-8

[Editorial: "Increase the Effectiveness of the Party's Leadership of the People's Army and National Defense"]

[Text] On 3 February of this year our party, population, and army, extremely proud and full of enthusiasm, will commemorate the 55th anniversary of the founding of our party, the glorious Communist Party founded and forged by the great President Ho Chi Minh.

The past 55 years have been a period in which our people, by means of their strong vital force and extraordinary energy, have brought about many profound changes of great epochal stature at a rapid rate in our beloved country. Under the leadership of the Party, the Vietnamese revolution has made storm-like progress and won one great victory after another. The Vietnamese people have continued to write glorious pages of history and achieve brilliant feats both in defending the nation and building a new way of life.

Originally people who were bound by the chains of slavery and submerged in a situation of having lost their country and seen their families fall apart our entire population, from north to south, under the glorious flag of the Party strongly arose in the August Revolution of 1945, overthrew the ruling yoke and oppression of the imperialists and feudalists, won political power, and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. Throughout a period of 30 years of waging two sacred wars of resistance that were full of hardships and sacrifice, with a spirit of "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" our soldiers and people defeated two great imperialist nations -- France and the United States -- outstandingly fulfilled the mission of national liberation, unified the nation, and began an era of independence, freedom, and socialism of the Vietnamese homeland. As they entered the period of transition to socialism under the circumstances of the accumulating difficulties of an agricultural nation in which small-scale production is prevalent and which was devastated by many years of war, our people immediately had to cope with a new enemy aggressor, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in league with the U.S. imperialists. Under the wise leadership the Party, our soldiers and people have inflicted heavy defeats on them and solidly defended the socialist Vietnamese homeland, while at the same time gradually achieving new

accomplishments of which we can be proud in the enterprise of socialist revolution on a nationwide scale.

The actualities of history over a period of more than half a century have affirmed that the Vietnam Communist Party is the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution. The leadership of the Party is the principal factor determining all victories in our people's revolutionary enterprise in the past and national democratic revolution in the past and the nationwide socialist revolution today.

The historical mission which our Party is continuing to bear is very difficult. On the path to socialism the Vietnamese revolution has new, very basic advantages, but at the same time must endeavor to overcome accumulating difficulties and serious challenges. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in league with the U.S. imperialists and the lackey reactionary powers, are seeking all ways to oppose the Vietnamese revolution and the revolutions of the three Indochinese countries in order to expand into Southeast Asia. The struggle to successfully build socialism and solidly defend the socialist Vietnamese homeland will continue to take place for a long time and will be difficult and complicated.

Today our Party is the ruling party throughout the nation. It is responsible to the nation, the people, and history for the prosperity and existence of the entire nation. The Party leads all spheres of activity of an independent, unified, and socialist nation. A very basic problem in the leadership of a ruling party is that it leads society by means of the state and by means of the state plays its leadership role and exercises the collective mastership right of the people. The fourth and fifth party congresses affirmed that the mechanism of the party leading, the people serving as the masters, and the state managing is the most effective mechanism for exercising the Party's leadership of society and correctly resolving the relationships among the Party, the people, and the party under the conditions of our Party being the ruling party.

The actualities of our country's society during the past 10 years have demonstrated the important role of that leadership mechanism. Our Party has made many all-out efforts to gradually concretize that mechanism, to build and continually perfect it, and to increasingly develop its strength and effectiveness throughout the nation, in each sector, and in each locality. To strictly implement that mechanism and creatively apply it to each sphere of activity, and to contribute to perfecting that mechanism, is to practically contribute to strengthening the leadership and increasing the effectiveness of the Party's leadership.

In the new phase of the revolution at present, our Party has the historical mission of leading our entire population and entire army in fulfilling two strategic missions: successfully building socialism and maintaining readiness to fight to solidly defend the socialist Vietnamese homeland. The decisive matter in victoriously fulfilling those two missions, as indicated by the Resolution of the Fifth Party Congress, is "increasing the leadership effectiveness and strengthening the combativeness of the Party"(1), and if that is to be accomplished, under the conditions of the Party holding

political power it is necessary to "fully bring into play the effect of the mechanism of the Party leading, the people serving as the masters, and the state managing throughout the nation and in each sector, locality, and base."(2)

The problem that is posed is to continue to concretize and codify the leadership mechanism of the Party in the organizational structure of the state, in the social management mode, and in economic construction and the consolidation of national defense, and in the rules and daily activities of the party organizations, governmental organs, mass organizations, and sectors from the central level down to the local level.

The leadership of the Party and the collective mastership right of the working people manifested in a concentrated manner in the state and exercised primarily by means of the state, under the leadership of the Party. The effectiveness of the Party's leadership of society is manifested in the effectiveness of the state's management. Therefore, to consolidate and strengthen the socialist state is to strengthen the leadership of the Party and to bring into play the collective mastership right of the people. To mechanically separate the management of the state from leadership the Party, to do the state's management work for it, and not to respect the laws, stipulations, decisions, and directives of the state organs is in fact to "lessen the leadership role of the Party and violate the collective mastership right of the people."(3)

Strengthening the socialist legal code is an urgent requirement in increasing the effectiveness of state management, and at the same time increases the effectiveness of party leadership and ensures the mastership right of the people. That is because laws are the codification of the lines, stands, and policies of the Party.

Under the light of the fourth and fifth party congresses, the sectors, echelons, localities, and units have struggled continuously over the past several years to concretize and gradually perfect the mechanism of the Party leading, the people serving as the masters, and the state managing in all spheres of the nation, so they have achieved increasingly better results.

In the sphere of constructing socialism, the potential of the nation and of man have been brought into play and the initiative, creativity, and consciousness of self reliance of the people have been aroused. The initial accomplishments in the spheres of the nation's production, economy, and management have manifested the mastership spirit of the masses. The confidence of the masses in the Party and socialism has a firm basis.

While placing in the forefront the mission of building socialism, our Party has not for the minute neglected its mission of consolidating national defense and defending the homeland.

Employing the mechanism of the Party leading, the people serving as the masters, and the state managing in the mission of defending the homeland, the Political Bureau issued a resolution on "Renovating and perfecting the Party's



leadership mechanism with regard to the Vietnam People's Army, national defense, and implementing the single commander system in the army."

In the new leadership structure, we must strengthen the leadership of the Party, and especially must strengthen the leadership of the Central Executive Committee, especially and directly the Political Bureau's leadership of the people's army and national defense.

The Party Central Committee made decisions on matters regarding the military line; the direction and mission of building and consolidating national defense of all the people; the direction and mission of building the people's armed forces; and the major policies of combining the economy with national defense and bringing combined strength into play in the enterprise of defending the homeland.

On the basis of the working guidelines of the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau determined the specific military missions of each period, the national defense plan, the plans for building the people's armed forces and national defense by all the people, etc. The Secretariat made decisions matters regarding the missions and policies vis-a-vis building the Party, building the corps of cadres, the party-political work in the army, the policies and regulations regarding the consolidation of national defense and building the people's armed forces; the direction mission, and major policies regarding the local military work, etc. A standing organ of the Political Bureau regarding the military work and national defense that has been set up to help the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau exercise tight leadership over consolidating national defense, building the people's armed forces, and guiding the victorious waging of people's war to defend the homeland. The decisions of the Political Bureau were codified in the form of decrees, decrees, decisions, etc., of the state, and into specific missions, plans, norms, stands, and measures of the sectors, localities, and units. The party committee echelons have the mission of leading the locality, sector, or unit in fully carrying out the stands, plans, and legal norms assigned by the state. That is a matter of strengthening the leadership of the Party and of increasing the effectiveness of the Party's leadership of national defense and the building up of armed forces.

The party's new leadership mechanism vis-a-vis the people's army is a complete structure consisting of the leadership organization and mode of the Party Central Committee; the one commander system and the formation of military councils; the renovation of the functions and missions of the system of political organs; and the building of pure, strong basic-level party organizations and mass organizations. Each organization in the structure has its specific position and mission and is a component of a unified entity that is intended to strengthen the leadership of the Party, bring into play to a high degree the individual responsibility of the commander and the collective mastership right of the cadres and men, and create great combined strength with which to fulfill with the highest effectiveness all missions assigned to the people's army by the Party and state.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party in the army, each organization must fully fulfill its function and work in accordance with the

contents and missions stipulated by the new mechanism. It should not be thought that strengthening the leadership of the Party means only strengthening the role of the political organs, the basic-level party organizations, and the party committees, while regarding the commander and the Military Council as not belonging to the party but only to the governmental administration. If the commander of a unit does not fulfill his responsibility and does not fulfill his missions and exercise his authority as stipulated by the new mechanism, the unit's fighting strength cannot be increased and it will be difficult to fulfill its missions. Therefore, to implement well the single commander system is not to lessen the leadership role of the party, but is an important content of strengthening the Party's leadership and increasing the effectiveness of its new leadership mechanism vis-a-vis the army.

The renovation and perfection of the Party's leadership mechanism vis-a-vis the army is a new development of our Party's organization work and is appropriate to the situation and mission of our country's revolution and the combat of our army in the present phase of the revolution.

In the new mechanism, the direct, centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee, continually and directly of the Political Bureau, vis-a-vis the army is strengthened; the one commander system will be implemented at all levels in the army; the military councils will play the role of collective military leadership organizations; the basic-level party and mass organizations will be made pure and strong; combativeness, initiative, and creativity will be heightened; and the collective leadership role of the cadres and enlisted men will be brought into play. The all-round coordination of those organizations in accordance with their functions and missions is intended to strengthen the Party's leadership of the army. Placing any organization or organ outside its position or function, or being conservative, tardy, and empirical, and not being sensitive toward the new requirements and contents in the new leadership mechanism, leads to weakening the effectiveness of the Party's leadership and the fighting strength of the army.

We must isolate the necessary experiences in the actual implementation of the new mechanism in the recent period in order to gradually get the implementation of that implementation onto the right track. At the same time, by that means it is also possible to uncover problems which must be resolved, in order to recommend that the new mechanism be supplemented or amended so that it can be perfected and become increasingly appropriate to the continually changing specific conditions of our army and nation.

Strengthening the leadership of the Party is the responsibility not only of the party and state organizations but also of the corps of cadres and party members, especially those in management positions in the sectors, echelons, localities, and units. That is because under the conditions of our Party being the ruling party, the role of cadres and party members in management positions have great influence on the prestige and leadership effectiveness of the Party. If the managing cadres are strong the unit will be strong, but if the managing cadres are weak the unit cannot fulfill its mission and the leadership of the party organization will not be effective. Therefore, the foremost requirement of the corps of cadres and party members is to



continually forge and raise their quality and ability so that they correspond to the responsibility assigned them by the Party and state in the Party's new leadership structure.

In the army, the new leadership mechanism sets very high requirements with regard to the ability and quality of the commander, the political director, and the other key cadres. If they have functions and authority but no ability, they cannot do their jobs. Ability without moral quality also amounts to nothing, and can even sully the honor of the Party. If cadres who have much authority and important positions are unwilling to study and forge themselves, their talents are dulled, their virtue is deficient, and they degenerate, which is even more harmful to the country, the people, and the Party.

For that reason, as they enter into the new fight for the enterprise of building and defending the nation, although the great majority of the cadres and party members have maintained their fine revolutionary qualities and have elevated their political, knowledge, and leadership ability levels, the Party continues to pay all-out attention to improving the quality and ability of the cadres and party members. The Party requires all cadres and party members to increase their expertise in the work assigned them. "Self-satisfaction, wasting time, and not being willing to continually raise their levels in all regards are also manifestations of serious degeneracy with regard to the moral quality of party members." (4) The Party is also strongly oriented toward educating and bolstering the moral qualities of cadres and party members because the manifestations of decline with regard to the revolutionary quality of some cadres and party members, especially of some cadres in charge of the echelons and sectors, have reduced the effectiveness of leadership, created obstacles for the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the party, and violated the collective leadership right of the masses. Therefore, the Party requires that "all party members, no matter what their daily work, whether they are workers, state personnel, cooperative members, soldiers, public security policemen, etc., have the moral qualities and ability of communist warriors." (5)

The managing cadres are people who play leading roles in the units and localities, so they not only must strictly implement the lines, stands, policies, and resolutions of the Party but also strictly implement the laws of the state. Under the conditions of the state holding political power, enforcing laws and strengthening the socialist legal structure is an important requirement in strengthening the leadership of the Party. Cadres who are given authority to command in combat and to manage, and coordinate troops must first of all understand the laws, obey the laws, and create for the unit consciousness of living law-abiding lives and respecting laws. The situation of making mistakes because of failure to understand laws should not be prolonged. It is necessary to resolutely criticize instances of, in the name of the Party, taking advantage of party organizations and authority to act contrary to laws, placing oneself outside and above the law, and disturbing social discipline and army discipline.

In renovating and perfecting the Party's leadership mechanism with regard to the Vietnam People's Army, national defense, and the implementation of the

single commander system in the army, our Party has clearly stipulated the functions, missions, and authority of each organization and person. Clearly understanding the goals of renovating the Party's leadership mechanism, firmly grasping the missions of each organization in the new mechanism and on that basis clearly understanding and acting in accordance with the responsibility and function of each person, without being liberal and arbitrary, is an extremely important matter in developing the effectiveness of the new leadership structure and further strengthening the leadership of the Party vis-a-vis the army and national defense.

However, no matter how specific stipulations are they cannot encompass and completely resolve the extremely varied problems posed in the process of actually instituting the new mechanism. Therefore, a matter of decisive significance regarding the commanders, political directors, and the corps of cadres and party members in the army is firmly grasping and emphasizing the party nature, for that is the core which resolves all relationships in the new mechanism.

It is even more important that a commander who has a strong party nature go all-out in coordinating closely with the political organs and the basic-level party bases, and respect the leadership organs of the Party and the party organizations. The political organs, the party leadership organs, and the basic-level party organizations always regard consolidating, increasing, and developing the effectiveness of the single commander system as a content of their basic mission which is tied in with increasing the combativeness and efficiency of the party organizations and the party-political work.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in league with the U.S. imperialists, are feverishly waging a war of encroachment along our northern border and stepping up their many-sided war of destruction in the localities, while preparing for a large-scale war of aggression against our country. In addition to promoting the enterprise of building socialism, preparing for the nation a strong national defense of all the people, with conventional, modern and elite people's armed forces which are prepared to solidly defend the socialist homeland is an important strategic mission of our Party.

Commemorating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Party, our entire army and population must give rise to a strong revolutionary action movement and endeavor to fulfill with the best possible results the military missions of 1985 and following years, strongly develop the effectiveness of the Party's new leadership mechanism with regard to the people's army and national defense, and practically celebrate the great anniversaries of the nation in 1985, a year full of good prospects.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Vietnam Communist Party, "Documents of the Fifth Party Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Vol 1, p 52.

2. Ibid., p 51.

3. Vietnam Communist Party, "Report on Recapitulating Party Building and the Amendment of Party Statutes," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 71.

4. Vietnam Communist Party, "Documents of the Fifth Party Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Vol 1, p 173.

5. Ibid., pp 171, 172.

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MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BUILDING BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN MILITARY REGION 2

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 20-27

[Article by Major General Pham Hong Cu: "Building Basic Party Organizations in Combat Units in Military Region 2"]

[Text] In the enterprise of defending the homeland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists Military Region 2, which is on the front line, is along with the ethnic minority people coming to grips with the enemy night and day and opposing their armed encroachment, shelling, ideological, and cultural sabotage activities. At the same time, it must be prepared to cope with a war of aggression, no matter on what scale or at what time, if they should foolhardily start one.

In order to respond to that situation and mission, the combat units must be strong in all regards. Therefore, building basic Party organizations in truly pure and strong combat units, to serve as the hard core in building comprehensively strong units that have strong fighting strength and fulfill all missions well, is an important permanent mission. At the same time it is an urgent mission in the Party building work of the armed forces in Military Region 2.

During the past several years Military Region 2, implementing the resolutions of the fourth and fifth party congresses and the resolutions of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, and under the guidance of the Political General Department, Military Region 2 has concentrated its forces and efforts on comprehensively building basic Party organizations, with regard to politics, ideology, and organization, and gradually bring about certain transformations.

The Military Region has organized many political activities to explain the Party resolutions, held party congresses from the basic level on up, and organized activities to bolster communist moral qualities. By that means it has enabled every party member to more fully understand the revolutionary situation and missions, the two strategic missions, and the military line of the Party in people's war to defend the homeland, and to more clearly understand the basic plots and insidious, wily schemes of the Chinese reactionary clique toward our people. Thus the fighting will and sense of responsibility of all cadres and party members have been strengthened. All

party organizations, units, and party members have clearly affirmed that the mission of maintaining combat readiness, fighting victoriously, and solidly defending the borders of the homeland is a basic political mission of their unit or party organization. Hatred for the Chinese reactionaries and the spirit of vigilance and readiness to retaliate immediately against all encroachment and armed provocation activities of the enemy were strengthened.

The party committee echelons have been strengthened with regard to quantity and quality. The military region has held many supplementary training classes for basic-level party committees. In April 1984 the Military Region, implementing the Political Bureau resolution regarding the renovation and perfection of the Party's leadership mechanism vis-a-vis the army, selected cadres with good moral quality and ability, serve as full-time party committee secretaries in the regiments and brigades.

Implementing the directive of the Party Central Committee regarding strengthening the party development work and perfecting the basic-level party organizations, the Military Region has taken many steps to guide and supervise the organization of implementation. The basic-level party organizations organized supplementary training for the party members regarding the party development work, and drafted a plan to select and train outstanding cadres and Youth Union members who had been challenged in construction and combat so that they could be brought into the Party. Therefore, the ratio of party members in the Military Region increased by eight percent, and in combat units the ratio increased by four to seven percent. Because it simultaneously promoted the party development work and rectified party members, although the combat units have developed rapidly all of the combat companies have party chapters.

In a period of more than 2 years of implementing the directive of the Secretariat on the issuing of party membership cards, all basic-level party organizations and chapters have completed the issuing of party membership cards. The issuing of party membership cards is a deep and broad political activity with regard to all party members and basic-level party organizations and chapters and serves to strengthen party consciousness, sense of responsibility, and the relationship between party members and the masses, and to increase the combativeness of the party chapters and basic organizations. The party chapters and basic organizations have been further consolidated and their fighting strength has been increased.

Attention has been paid to party member management and party control. The party chapters truly exercise direct management of party members. All party members, including mid-level and high-ranking cadres, come under the management of the party chapters. All matters regarding the qualifications of party members are brought out for consideration by the party chapters in accordance with the Party Statutes. The party control and party discipline work has increased discipline, increased consciousness of strictly implementing the party's leadership and activity principles and systems, and made progress in overcoming negativism and rightism among party members.

It may be said that during the past several years, due to the all-out efforts of the echelons and by means of many positive measures, many basic party

organizations in combat units have attained the requirements of purity and strength, increased their fighting strength, played a hard-cord role in building strong regiments and brigades, and fulfilled well all training, combat readiness, and combat missions.

However, that progress has not been uniform and is not yet truly solid.

At present, the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles are promoting a many-sided war of destruction with extremely devilish, insidious schemes while waging a border encroachment war to gradually nibble the northern border of our homeland. That situation demands that the people's armed forces in the Military Region, above all and most directly the basic units, have all-round strength and have sufficient fighting strength to smash all plots and schemes of the enemy and solidly defend the homeland's frontiers. It is necessary to further promote the building of basic party organizations which make uniform progress and are truly pure and strong.

The results and effectiveness of the leadership of the basic party organizations in combat units in the Military Region, especially in combat since April 1984, are yardsticks to measure the results of the building of basic party organizations in recent years.

On the basis of the actual situation of leading and building party bases in combat against Chinese aggressor troops along the border in Military Region 2, it is possible to isolate some major problems that must be resolved in order to rapidly improve the quality and effectiveness of the leadership of the basic party organizations in combat units.

The actual situation has demonstrated that the quality of party members has a decisive effect on the quality of cadres and the quality of party chapter leadership. Therefore, in building basic party organizations the Military Region has determined that the key task is building the corps of party members.

Because of the development and expansion of forces in the Military Region, and because of the requirements of the combat missions, it is essential that the companies always have official party chapters. In the course of actual combat it has been even more evident that there is a pressing need for platoons to have party cells and for squads, gun crews, and combat vehicle crews to have party members. That is also a requirement which we must endeavor persistently, positively, and continually to fulfill. As stated above, because it has been active and taken many steps to carry out the party development work, the ratio of party members in the Military Region leadership as a whole has increased eight percent and the ratio in combat units has increased four to seven percent. Therefore, essentially the basic units have been able to make up for the party members who have been transferred, who have gone to study, or have been killed or wounded in the course of combat. However, the party development work has recently been beset with deficiencies and weaknesses and is not yet up to the leadership mission of the basic party organizations.

In order to fulfill those requirements, in the course of carrying out the party development work it is necessary to strengthen the responsibility of party members and of the party committee echelons with regard to educating the masses, especially enlightening members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union with regard to goals and ideals. The role of the Youth Union organizations must be brought into play. The Youth Union must truly train and educate its members and introduce outstanding members for membership in the party. It is necessary to oppose formalistic acts which do not ensure quality, and to overcome the long-standing deficiency of not fully ensuring party member standards and failing to steel party members after they are admitted. All basic-level party chapters and party organizations must have specific party development plans. Every year it is necessary to select and admit into the party all three types of soldiers fulfilling their military obligations: those who have been in the army 1 year, those who have been in the army 2 years, and those who have been in the army 3 years.

Steeling party members and improving their quality always has a decisive significance with regard to the fulfillment of a unit's missions. The more fierce and long-range the fighting, the greater are the requirements with regard to the quality of party members. The education and steeling of party members in actual combat has an even greater significance. A number of important results have been achieved in building up of the corps of party members in the Military Region during the past several years. The ranks of party members have become increasingly pure and strong, and have a high degree of unanimity toward the stands and lines of the Party. Leadership and command ability and ability to act have clearly been improved. The number of party members classified as "outstanding" has increased and in 1983 was 20 percent greater than in 1981. There have been many exemplary models in combat.

However, in building and fighting there have been exposed weaknesses which we must concentrate on overcoming in order to correspond with the role of party members in combat at present. Therefore, in order to improve the quality of party members it is necessary to concentrate on improving the quality of cadres. That is also a key matter in improving the quality of the leadership of party chapters and organizations. In improving the quality of cadres it is first of all necessary to concentrate on improving the quality of managing cadres from the squad leader level on up. It is necessary to pay attention to implementing cadre supplementation and management systems as stipulated for each echelon. It is necessary to pay attention to supplementation and steeling with regard to both quality and ability, and to strengthening the cadres' will, sense of responsibility, and consciousness of discipline. In addition to education and steeling it is necessary to correctly select and assign leadership cadres in combat. Regular party activities must be maintained and all party members must be brought into the party chapter activities so that they can be managed and forged. The systems of self-criticism and criticism and the system of categorizing and assigning missions to party members must be implemented well. The system of the masses criticizing party members and cadres every month, every quarter, and after every battle, the system of supervising party members in carrying out the five missions of party members, and the system of individual responsibility, etc., must be implemented regularly. Those are very effective measures to improve the quality of party members.



In order to fulfill the requirement of building pure and strong, the Military Region affirmed that building pure, strong party chapters is the decisive task.

During the past several years, because of positive party development measures and the rectification of party members, all of the combat units in the Military Region have party chapters.

The basic party organizations positively strengthened and cultivated the party committee secretaries and party committee members, and improved the leadership ability of the party chapters and secretaries. The party committee secretaries have such good features as 86 percent having attended military schools and 66 percent having served as party committee secretaries for two or three terms. In combat, in general the party committee secretaries have shown exemplary courage and led effectively.

In building party chapters the Military Region has paid attention to determining the leadership mission and maintaining regular activities. Every year the party chapters draft plans to build pure, strong party chapters. Those plans must be approved by the upper echelon party committee. In the plan implementation process they have held many conferences to recapitulate experiences in building party chapters.

In addition to building party chapters that meet the pure and strong requirements the party organizations have positively sought all ways to overcome the weaknesses and deficiencies and the weak, deficient party chapters. Therefore, there have been good transformations in building party chapters. The number of strong chapters increased by 16 percent between 1982 and 1983. The number of weak party chapters declined by 13 percent between 1983 and 1982.

However, the quality and leadership ability of the party chapters do not yet meet the new requirements of the combat mission.

In order to ensure victory in combat the companies must be a sharp spearhead offensively and stalwart pillars defensively. The company party chapters must lead and guide the masses in outstandingly fulfilling the combat missions under all circumstances. That requirement requires the formation and maintenance of party chapters in companies and party chapters with party committees. Efforts must be made to enable platoons to have party cells and for squads, gun crews, and combat vehicle crews to include party members, and it is necessary to fully implement the content of building truly pure and strong company party committees. Only thereby can the party chapters always play the leading role and truly be strong bases of support for the commanders in combat.

The building of pure, strong company party committees must be carried out by means of many measures and must fulfill the following requirements: leading the units in outstandingly fulfilling all missions, especially the combat missions; continually consolidating and increasing the effectiveness of the single commander system; building strong Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union



chapters; bringing into play the collective mastership right of the masses in all respects; organizing party chapters that are continually improved quantitatively and qualitatively and fulfilling the requirements and norms set forth by the upper echelon regarding the building of party chapters; closely managing and cultivating the corps of cadres and developing the role and responsibility of cadres in construction and combat; and fully implementing the systems and principles of the Party.

If that is to be accomplished the echelons, especially the echelon directly above the basic level and the basic party committees, must closely guide each party chapter, increase the initiative and creativity of the party chapters, pay special attention to bolstering secretaries and party chapter committees, and enable those comrades to play a leadership role.

In order to develop the leadership strength of the party chapters, a very important aspect is paying adequate attention to proselytizing youths. First of all, it is necessary to enable all cadres and party members to clearly understand and correctly implement the viewpoints of the Party toward the youth proselytizing work. In that regard, there has not yet been a good transformation at the basic level. Many basic party organizations have had to struggle resolutely against instances of regarding the work of educating and proselytizing youths lightly, lightly regarding the building of Youth Union organizations, leaving the youth work to Youth Union cadres, and paying insufficient attention to the morale and material lives of youths. However, the party committee echelons, commanders, cadres, and party members still pay little attention to proselytizing, educating, and cultivating youths or to the maturization and progress of Youth Union members.

In order to carry out the education and cultivation of youths, it is first of all necessary to continually build strong Youth Union organizations and educate youths with regard to the goals, ideals, role, and responsibility of youths toward the mission of building and defending the homeland and the mission of building the army. It is necessary to build Youth Union organizations which are truly schools for educating and forging youths and are reliable reserve forces of the Party which play an assault role in fulfilling the units' development and combat missions. The Youth Union must select and cultivate outstanding Youth Union members to create a source for developing the party, train cadres, and provide many key personnel for the squads and gun crews.

The building of pure, strong basic Party organizations must have the ultimate aim of fulfilling the units' political missions. Therefore, improving the leadership ability of the basic Party organizations is a basic requirement and an urgent requirement at present.

A number of good results have been attained in fulfilling the political missions of the basic units. Under ordinary conditions, the focus has been on the central missions of training and combat readiness. Every year the ratio of regiments attaining good training results has increased and in 1983 there were no weak regiments. In a number of places the stand and policy of concentrating on overcoming the weaknesses and deficiencies attained good results. Some units attained the "Determined to Win" unit designation 3 years

in a row and some party organizations have been named "pure, strong party organizations." The number of basic party organizations attaining the "pure and strong" designation in the Military Region has increased every year. In 1983 it increased 20 percent over 1982. In combat many party organizations have built determination and the will to fight among party members and the masses and developed the strength of the organizations and of all categories, and a number have fulfilled well their combat leadership missions. They have been clear transformations in enforcing discipline and implementing policies. In the course of combat military-civilian relations have become increasingly tight.

The foremost mission of the basic units is maintaining combat readiness and fighting victoriously. The requirement that the basic combat units fulfill their missions in war to defend the homeland is very high and very strict; they must win victory in combat, win victories from the very first battles, win victories continuously, and become increasingly strong as they fight. Leading the good fulfillment of those missions is a very great responsibility of the basic Party organizations. In construction and training leadership must be concentrated on increasing the fighting strength of the troops and on steeling the troops with regard to will, responsibility, discipline, and their technical and tactical skills, so that they can meet the requirements of combat. Under all circumstances, in favorable times as well as in difficult times, it is necessary to lead the building of a spirit of solidarity and mutual love between the cadres and men and between the experienced soldiers and the new recruits, and to pay attention to the morale and material lives of the troops, completely bring an end to corruption and adulterating the rations of the enlisted men, and oppose manifestations of militarism and bureaucratism.

In combat leadership the basic party organizations must enable the cadres and men, especially the command cadres, to have the viewpoint of correctly evaluating the enemy in order to defeat them. It is necessary to enable the troops to clearly understand the basic nature and plots of the enemy and continually strengthen their standpoints, fighting will, and hatred for the enemy. In order to understand the enemy it is necessary to have specific understanding of the unit's direct operational object, clearly understand the enemy forces, above all with regard to quantity and quality, and especially must understand their operational schemes and correctly evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of those schemes in order to have ways to defeat each of them. It is necessary to foresee the most difficult circumstances in order to set forth the requirement of preparing for combat and maintaining readiness to defeat the enemy under all circumstances, even the most complicated circumstances. Subjectivity, disdain for the enemy, underestimating the enemy, or worrying about and overestimating the enemy will lead to serious consequences in actual combat.

In order to fight victoriously the basic party organizations must firmly grasp the leadership mission of continually improving the units' quality and fighting strength. It is necessary to enable everyone to clearly understand units must be strong and have great fighting strength. In building, it is necessary to grasp the central missions--military training and political education--for they are basic tasks which contribute to strengthening the will

and combativeness of the troops. In training it is necessary to closely combine creating a foundation with application, and training must be appropriate to the type of combat. Everyone must be enabled to expertly use all kinds of weapons and have a spirit of maintaining them well, using them for a long time, and using them economically and effectively in combat. It is necessary to pay special attention to training cadres with regard to combat skills and experiences, enable the cadres to fully understand the enemy and defeat their schemes, and know how to respond to the combat situations promptly, resourcefully, and bravely. The political education work must enable the cadres and men to fully understand their mission of fighting to defend the frontiers of the homeland, increase their hatred of the enemy, and strengthen their will, determination to fight, and readiness to sacrifice their lives to win victory.

The foremost basic mission of the basic party organization is leading the unit so that it can fully understand the combat missions. They must enable every component and person to fully understand the significance, goal, and requirements of the combat missions; fully realize the advantages and difficulties; firmly grasp the fighting methods; and build the determination of each person and element. In the organization work the party committees are responsible for participating in the correct deployment of key leadership cadres in each team, squad, and fighting element, especially in places which are fulfilling important, difficult missions. They must help the commander select and assign commanders in the echelons under his command. In order to bring into play the creativity of the masses, the Party organizations and commanders at all echelons must truly respect democracy in the army. All contents except those which absolutely must be kept secret must be discussed by the cadres and men so that they can clearly understand the missions, firmly grasp the fighting methods, and contribute opinions toward finding ways to overcome difficulties. It is necessary to ensure the good implementation of the relationships between the commanders and the party committees, and between the regimental commanders and the deputy commanders for political matters and party committee secretaries in accordance with the Party's new leadership structure, in order to develop collective strength and individual responsibility in combat.

The basic Party organizations in combat units must consolidate military-civilian relations in each area and develop the combined strength of local people's war. All basic units are responsible for coordinating closely with the localities and for joining them in building and combat. Each unit is responsible for participating in building political bases, building armed forces, building the economy, and developing culture in the locality. It is necessary to rely solidly on the localities, work with them in creating a battle deployment, develop combined strength and on-the-spot strength, closely combine the two operational modes, and attain the combat objectives in each area.

Building basic Party organizations is not only the direct responsibility of the basic party organizations and a responsibility of the political organs, political cadres, and party members, but is the responsibility of all echelons and sectors, especially the at the echelon directly above the basic level, and of all cadres and men in the unit.

The basic level must take the initiative and develop its combined strength in order to do a good job of building units and party organizations without waiting on plans from the upper echelon or depending on the upper echelon.

The commanders, as party members, must emphasize the party nature and bring into play their exemplary vanguard role and responsibility, and implement fully and strictly all resolutions of the party committees regarding the party building work and the role of party members in commanding, managing and building the units, while at the same time, as commanders, promptly reporting on the situation and recommending that the party committee decide the leadership contents, in order to victoriously fulfill the missions and decisions of the commanders, as stipulated by the Party's leadership mechanism.

The echelons, sectors, and organs must have specific plans, bring into play its role and responsibility toward building the basic level, emphasize the basic level, make the basic level the object of their service, and make the effectiveness of the basic level the yardstick for measuring the results and quality of their work. They must assist the basic level in all regards so that it can fully understand and have conditions for victoriously fulfilling plans and policies, and overcome the situation of the plans of upper echelons and upper-echelon organs overlapping one another, which creates difficulties for implementation at the basic level.

The upper echelons, especially the echelon directly above the basic level, must resolve problems the basic level cannot resolve, but not give the basic level a free rein.

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MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY DEVELOPMENT OF DISTRICTS IN MILITARY REGION 4 DISCUSSED

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 28-36

[Article by Major General Tran Van An: "Develop Districts into Bastions To Defend the Homeland in Military Region 4"]

[Text] I. Military Region 4 and the Policy of Developing Districts into Bastions To Defend the Homeland

Military Region 4, which includes Thanh Hoa, Nghe Tinh, and Binh Tri Thien, has a population of more than 7 million. In the course of building and defending the nation that area has always been a key strategic area and a base area of many patriotic wars against enemy aggressors from the north.

In the 3rd Century the Tran Dynasty, faced with a strong enemy, was still confident of winning ultimate victory because as long as "Hong Dien" existed the nation would also continue to exist. That confidence was manifested in a poem by King Tran Nhan Tong: "The old story of Coi Ke should be remembered; Our Hong Dien still has hundreds of thousands of troops."

In the 15th Century, that area was not only the setting of the rebellion of the Lam Son troops but was the place where "danger" was transformed into "safety" and weakness was transformed into strength, which created a great strategic turning point so that the rebels could advance to liberating the nation.

In the 18th Century Phu Xuan, Nghe Tinh, and Thanh Hoa were not only areas in which Nguyen Hue gathered together troops and concentrated his forces, and served as staging areas for attacks, but were also forces and strength which helped that national hero win the historic Dong Da-Thang Long battle.

In the anti-French resistance war the Thanh-Nghe-Tinh free area was the direct free area for the entire Bac Bo and northern Trung Bo theaters, while Binh-Tri-Thien became inflamed with warfare, an area in which there took place very difficult, fierce, life-or-death fighting between our people and the aggressor army of the French colonialists.

During the anti-U.S. resistance war the Ben Hai River was the front line of the great rear area of the socialist north, the direct rear area of the heroic

south. In that area there took place very fierce fighting between our soldiers and people and the extremely cruel war of destruction waged by the U.S. air force and navy. In Quang Tri and Thua Thien there also took place extremely fierce fighting between our soldiers and people and the enemy.

At present, our country is in the situation of both being at peace and having to cope with a border encroachment war combined with the many-sided war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in league with the U.S. imperialists, while also being prepared to cope with the possibility of the enemy starting a large-scale war of aggression. They are also encouraging and helping their lackeys to carry out military encroachment activities along the border, carry out sabotage in the interior, and plot to overthrow Laos and Cambodia. Under all circumstances of war waged by the enemy from all directions, Military Region 4 plays a very important strategic role and is both a front line and a rear area for many theaters.

Military Region 4, which to the west borders Laos for more than 1,000 kms and has more than 600 kms of coast which faces the enemy on Hainan Island and in the East China Sea, must continually be prepared to cope with a large-scale war of aggression from both the east and the west, and to defeat all enemy schemes of encirclement and strategic interdiction combined with internal rebellion to overthrow the government. Therefore, the soldiers and people of Military Region 4 must always be on guard and concentrate forces to defeat the enemy's many-sided war of destruction, regarding that as the primary mission while also continually being concerned with strengthening national defense, building the battlefield, accumulating potential strength, and being prepared to defeat the enemy's war of aggression under all circumstances and on all scales, so that if it is launched we will not be taken by surprised.

On the basis of the missions and characteristics of the area, the policy of developing districts into bastions to defend the homeland in Military Region 4 is not only a basic long-range mission but also an urgent requirement which we cannot be tardy in fulfilling. In two resistance wars against France and the United States, although there were not conditions for organizing and fully developing district bastions, capabilities with regard to combat villages, the strength of the on-the-spot forces, and the role of local people's war were also manifested in a lively manner. Vinh Hoang, Canh Duong, Cu Nam, etc., were localities in the former Quang Tri and Quang Binh provinces which were exemplary of the strength of the combat villages in the past, during the anti-French resistance war. Trieu Ai, Hai Thuong, Phong Thu, Phong Son, Phong An, Cam Nghia, My Thuy, Trieu Van, Gio Hai, etc., are localities in Tri-Thien which in the anti-U.S. resistance war demonstrated capabilities to hold their ground, the strength of the local forces, and the role of local people's war in attacks to annihilate the enemy to win mastership and win mastership in order to attack and annihilate the enemy.

The role of combat villages was manifested at a higher, exemplary level in Military Region 4 by the entire Vinh Linh area during the anti-U.S. resistance war. Vinh Linh, which was nearly equal to a district in size (1) and included jungles and mountains, lowlands, a coastal area, and Con Co Island, had the combat missions of opposing the war of destruction, psychological warfare, espionage warfare, and commandos, sending forces to fight in the south, and



also being prepared to fight the enemy from the south from the sea, and from the air. In accordance with the requirements of producing and strengthening its battlefield position, Vinh Linh formed seven integrated clusters of combat villages, such as the Son-Lam-Thuy, Giang-Quang-Tan, Tu-Trung-Chap, and other clusters. In its area Vinh Linh dug more than 31 kms of underground passages, 200 kms of communications trenches and fighting trenches, and 2,043 bunkers, and built large numbers of other fortifications and obstacles. The entire Vinh Linh area carried out the slogans "villages joined with villages and districts jointed with districts," "the front joined with the rear," "the rear joined with the front line," and the "fortification" and "militarization" of the entire area. Life was lived underground and in both combat areas and production areas there were communications trenches, shelters, and fighting positions along the major roads. Although it had to endure a large number of enemy bombs and shells--more than 500,000 tons of bombs, an average of more than 7 tons per person--Vinh Linh, with its combined strength is the over-all people's war deployment of the military region as a whole, and with the aid and coordination of the entire nation and of the main-force units on the spot, defeated the war of destruction, as well as the psychological warfare, espionage warfare, and commandos, of the U.S. imperialists. Vinh Linh was a model of a resolute bastion which both fought and produced in a fierce test of strength with the enemy. It fulfilled its glorious mission, stood firmly on the front line of the socialist north, and was worthy of the praise of Uncle Ho: "For smashing the U.S. bandits asunder, the whole world praises heroic Vinh Linh."

Of course, conditions for organizing the creation and operational activities of the combat villages in the past, and recently in the Vinh Linh area, were very limited, but good results were attained and valuable lessons were learned. Those are also premises for the soldiers and people of Military Region 4 to have full confidence in the policies of the Party and capabilities to develop districts into bastions to defend the homeland in their area under the new conditions.

## II. The Fighting Strength of Military Bastions in Military Region 4

The development of districts into strong military bastions is intended to enable the districts to have the direct military strength of national defense by all the people and of people's war, to create fighting strength to defend the locality on the spot and in each locality, and to create conditions for the main-force units to operate wherever necessary, thus enabling the entire nation to be strong and capable of defeating all enemy aggressors in all kinds of war, on all scales, and under all circumstances. That direct military strength must be manifested in a people's war battlefield position that has been organized and built in advance and is continually consolidated. That is strength which closely combines the "people factor" with the "terrain factor" and manifests the fighting strength of the two war-waging modes, and combines the strength of the rear area with that of the front line and the strength of the district with the common strength of the area in the strategic deployment of the province and the military region. That strength must be ensured in order to, in the immediate future, defeat the many-sided war of destruction and be prepared to defeat all military escalations and a war of aggression begun by the enemy, no matter what its scale, in the locality. That strength

must be manifested in combining economics with national defense and security, gradually accumulating material bases, meeting local rear services and technical needs, building the status and force to achieve local military mastery, and preparing for war and promptly changing over to a wartime status. It must be manifested in the ability of the local party committee echelons and governmental administrations to act, to guide and command local troops and militia and self-defense forces in waging local people's war and in coordinating with the main-force units. It must also be manifested in fulfilling the mission of being both a rear area and a front line and both producing and fighting. The border districts also have the mission of helping our friends.

In the course of several years of experimentation the military region observed that creating the strength of bastions to defend the homeland in the sphere of the district is a meticulous task. It must be a revolutionary undertaking of the entire party, the entire population, and the entire army in the locality. Above all, that strength must arise from local political, economic, cultural, and social strength. The basis of the strength of district military bastions is gradually building the system of socialist collective mastership in the districts and provinces in the Military Region and throughout the nation. It is the combined result of the three revolutions in each locality and nationwide. At a time when our country is still experiencing difficulties, the people and armed forces of the Military Region must jointly manifest a spirit of self-reliance, which has always been a local tradition, endeavor to attain the economic-social goals set by the Party, and build the strength of the three provinces in all regards. To do so is to build a strong rear area and build an on-the-spot rear area for people's war to defend the homeland in the Military Region as well as in the district, and to create the permanent factors determining victory in war.

The fighting strength of district bastions in the Military Region must be closely bound to the strengths of the factors of geography and terrain, which have always existed and have been steadily improved. On the basis of the characteristics and position of the Military Region, the position of each area, and the capabilities of each province and district in the Military Region, it is necessary to create a battlefield deployment and build potential in all regards. At the same time, it is necessary to determine specific guidelines, contents, paths of advance, and methods in order to develop bastions in a manner appropriate to each type of district and each district.

Military Region 4 is both long and narrow, especially in the south, at the waist, the narrowest point in the nation. Therefore, it is not surprising that enemy aggressors have always chosen that area to carry out strategic interdictions. But nature has also given that area very rugged terrain: there is the sea, there are islands, there are mountains and rivers, and there are positions to the rear and to the fore. It is an area about which our ancestors said, "if one knows how to take advantage of that area one can live in peace forever."<sup>(2)</sup> During the anti-French and anti-U.S. resistance wars, because of clear understanding of the region's position and knowledge of how to fully exploit the strengths of the terrain, not only the Hoanh Son mountains but also the entire rugged Truong Son range, no plot, scheme, or strength of the enemy could cut our nation in two, even the U.S. imperialists,



the most powerful and cruel imperialist nation, which had all kinds of the most modern facilities and material-technical bases.

Of the 64 districts, cities, and municipalities, 24 are situated on the coast. The strength of Military Region 4 was that it knew how to concentrate its strength on that strategic front line. It is a highly populated, rich area with potential in all regards. It is an area that has very great advantages for the economy and especially for national defense. There is the sea, there are mountains and hills, there are lowlands, and in places there are groups of islands. That is the general geographical feature of the coast in Military Region 4. The problem that is posed for the leadership and command at all levels, including the military region level, is knowing how to organize, build, and develop that potential strength of the locality.

In addition to the midlands and lowland districts, most of which are in the north, the Military Region has 16 mountain-region districts bordering friendly countries. They are also a system of outposts on the national defense line in the western part of the military region. At the same time, they are an important, direct rear area of the Viet-Lao strategic and combat alliance in the common defensive deployment. Indochina is a single theater. Most of the border districts in the Military Region are areas in which there are concentrated many ethnic minority people, who are distributed along the eastern Truong Son, a very rugged resistance war base area of the liberation wars in the past.

We must concentrate on building up the strategic line of defense to the west so that we can be ready to fulfill the international obligation of our soldiers and people toward Laos and along with our friends be prepared to smash a strategic interdiction by the enemy through Laos, create strong positions both east and west of the Truong Son, take advantage of the rugged features of the terrain, solidly defend the area, and defeat all interdiction plots and schemes of the enemy.

The strength of district military bastions in the Military Region also lies in knowing how to cooperate with the districts and provinces in Laos in both building and combat. Helping our Laotian friends is a glorious international mission of our soldiers and people. In recent years the soldiers and people in the Military Region have, together with the soldiers and people in localities in Laos, have created close militant solidarity and contributed to building and consolidating a special Viet-Lao combat alliance. The strategic and combat alliance among the three Indochinese countries is a historical inevitability and a law regarding the existence and development of each nation. Our beloved Uncle Ho taught that "Helping our friends is helping ourselves" and is both a national mission and an international mission. Only with the combined strength of the three Indochinese nations is it possible to defeat the enemy's sabotage and aggression plots in Indochina. The Military Region cannot be strong if Laos in general and the localities in Laotian provinces bordering the Military Region in particular are not strong.

Therefore, the strength of the Military Region and its strategic position are shared by an entire region in the Viet-Lao strategic and combat alliance.

### III. What Should Be Done To Successfully Build District Military Bastions?

1. On the basis of fully understanding the revolutionary line of the Party in the enterprise of building and defending the socialist homeland, understand the origin and nature of the district military bastion.

The district military bastion is a new product of the Party's line of socialist revolution, line of building a socialist economy, and military line in the enterprise of building and defending the homeland. It is one of the major policies of the Party with regard to the economy and society, and is an important part of the Party's strategic policy regarding the development of districts and the strengthening of the district echelon. Thus the district military bastion is not a separate entity which stands apart from the common undertaking of the socialist revolutionary enterprise. Nor is it a purely military matter. It is the combined product of the revolutionary line of the Party and a result of the implementation of the Party's political, economic, and military lines in districts and provinces, and is closely related to the guidance and the economic, technical, and military sectors of the upper and central echelons.

Only by fully understanding those lines and their commonality is it possible to understand the particular and the specific. Otherwise, it is easy to arrive at the situation of the military only knowing the military, the economic only knowing the economic, etc. Only by fully understanding the lines is it possible to understand the origins of the strength of bastions, the bases of the bastions, the role and position of the bastions, who is directly responsible for leading, commanding, building, and defending the district military bastions, etc. We believe that it is necessary to begin by understanding the lines.

2. Understanding the district military bastions must be comprehensive and include lines, policies, and specific matters. The bastions should be created on the basis of the specific political situation and missions in the locality, and by means of developing military bastions it is necessary to promote the revolutionary movement and victoriously fulfill the specific political missions in the locality.

The development of districts into bastions must be placed in the over-all mission of developing districts and strengthening the district echelon, which is in fact to build districts that are strong with regard to national defense and security as well as building districts which are stable politically, are rich economically, and have civilized cultural-social lives. That is one of the five goals of district development set forth by the National Conference to Recapitulate the District Building Work.

If economics are closely combined with national defense and national defense with economics, the development of districts into bastions can never be contradictory and will be in accord with the process of building agricultural-industrial districts. The more agricultural-industrial districts are consolidated the more the economy, culture, and society are developed, the more the strength of the proletarian dictatorship is increased, and the more socialist production relations are consolidated.

The more attention they pay to building district military bastions the more the district and local leadership echelons, governmental administrations, and key cadres mature in their ability to carry out the two strategic missions, the more steady they are in unified management, and the more seething the mass revolutionary movement becomes and contributes to repelling weaknesses, eliminating negativism, and creating "convergence points" between the localities and the Military Region, between the military and economic sectors, and between national defense and security. Clearly, in the course of economic development, reorganizing production, redistributing labor, and redeploying forces, many districts in Binh Tri Thien, Nghe Tinh, and Thanh Hoa have gradually formed new, very important population centers, coastal echelons, and rear area bases in which tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people both produce and maintain combat readiness.

In the course of the production labor emulation movement, especially on the agricultural front, thousands of members of militia and self-defense units in the Military Region have become assault forces. Hundreds of thousands of the laboring masses have been organized into units in the Song Ly and Song Hoang campaigns in Thanh Hoa, in the Hoang Mai and Ke Go campaigns in Nghe Tinh, and in the Nam Song Huong and Nam Thanch Han campaigns in Binh Tri Thien.

Military Region 4 is not a uniform area: there is a coastal area, a mountainous area, a midlands area, a lowlands, and includes both the sea and mountains. Some areas were not liberated until 1975. Therefore, in addition to unifying the basic missions of district military bastions in general it is also necessary to, on the basis of the characteristics, roles, and missions of each province and district, determine the specific combat missions of each district. Sometimes districts of the same time are located in different places. One may be a district on the main line of defense, one may be in an important area, or one may be in an independent operations area, so their roles, positions, effects, and missions cannot be identical.

3. Firmly grasp the direction, objectives, contents, and paths of advance of forming district military bastions.

If the development of bastions is regarded as a "construction project" the basic defensive plan is also the basis of the "model design." "Construction" must proceed from "design," and the development of district military bastions must be based on the over-all economic, national defense, and security plan, and on the basic defensive plan. That plan must be tied in with the economic-social plan in the sphere of the district and must lie within the overall economic and national defense plans of the provinces and districts. National defense draft plans and plans must keep a step ahead, especially in the key districts.

Strong bases are the foundation for the strength of the regime, and are the source of all accomplishments in building socialism, building national defense by all the people, and waging people's war to defend the homeland. Without strong bases there can be no strong district military bastions. Therefore, in building district military bastions it is necessary to make building comprehensively strong bases the foremost mission and the starting point.

"Construction" must begin at the basic level. If there are to be comprehensively strong bases there must be strong, pure party organizations, strong mass organizations, strong cooperatives, and strong, pure public security forces and armed forces. They must be strong with regard to politics, economics, culture, ideology, national defense, and security. But above all they must be strong and pure with regard to politics and ideology, and there must be core cadres with sufficient quality and ability. We must concentrate on eliminating the weak, deficient bases, especially in the key areas. Experience has demonstrated that when leadership recognizes its importance, there is no base which cannot be strongly developed. That is the lesson of Nga Son, Hau Loc, and Quang Xuong in Thanh Hoa, Nghi Loc in Nghe Tinh, Trieu Hai in Binh Tri Thien, etc. The military bases and combat villages must be based on strong the building of strong political bases. The strength of the district military bastions must be the strength of the combat villages, the combat clusters, and the integrated combat clusters at the basic level.

4. Serving as collective masters and developing combined strength in order to build district military bastions.

The district military bastions are above all a revolutionary undertaking of the masses in the districts. Only by bringing into play the collective mastership right of the masses in the district can there be district military bastions. Serving as collective masters and developing combined strength are a successful lesson of the revolution and Vietnamese people's war in the new era. Collective mastership must be manifested in the mechanism of the Party leading, the people serving as masters, and the state managing. The Party exercises leadership by means of the state and the people exercise mastership by means of the state. Therefore, management by the state manifests both the leadership of the Party and the collective mastership right of the laboring people. The Party must exercise centralized, unified leadership by means of resolutions and by supervising the organization of their implementation. In the sphere of the district the district party committee must firmly grasp the political, economic, and military lines of the Party in the period of building and defending the socialist homeland, and must thoroughly understand the Party's policy regarding developing districts, strengthening the district echelon, and developing districts into military bastions and safe districts in order to have correct leadership policies and guidelines. The state manages by means of laws and by concretizing the resolutions of the Party in the form of plans to be fulfilled by the sectors and echelons under its jurisdiction. The district people's committees must firmly grasp the national defense missions, thoroughly understand the slogan of preparing for wartime during peacetime construction, and fully bring into play their subjective dynamism in organizing the fulfillment of the mission of building district military bastions. The localities and bases must strictly obey state laws and the stands and policies of the Party, while at the same time having many creative forms of activity to transform the laws and decrees of the state into a voluntary action movement of the masses. That was done in Quang Xuong and Hau Loc in Thanh Hoa and is now a seething revolutionary movement regarding "national defense trees," "national defense catties," "national defense workdays," etc., of many districts in Binh Tri Thien, such as Trieu Hai, Bo

Trach, Ben Hai, Huong Dien, Huong Phu, and the city of Dong Ha to carry out the specific decisions of the localilty intended to create national defense resources to serve combat readiness.

In recent years many district party committee echelons and governmental administrations, as well as a large number of villages, have paid attention to consolidating national defense and building district military bastions and combat villages in their leadership and management. Quynh Luu, Nghi Loc, and Dien Chau in Nghe Tinh are districts which have made all-out efforts to combine economics with national defense, concentrate on building bases, and resolutely eliminate the weak, deficient bases. Quang Xuong, Tho Xuan, Hoang Hoa, and Tinh Gia in Thanh Hoa are districts which have made many efforts to build battlefield deployment, build bases, and build on-the-spot rear area bases. The national defense activities regarding the building of bases have gradually been incorporated in the state regulations, norms, plans, and laws. Le Ninh and Trieu Hai in Binh Tri Thien are districts with experience in organizing and building reserve forces, creating a battlefield deployment, and launching a movement for the entire population to participate in national defense by means of many rich, effective forms.

However, in addition to the localities which have done a good job, in many others the leadership and governmental administration have not been truly adequate. For that reason, the combined strength of all elements have not been brought into play, the mastership of the masses has not been emphasized, and in their work such localities are overdependent, etc., which considerably limits the rate and depth of the work. It may be said that the reason is that consciousness of mastership on the part of the popular masses has not been brought into play and the implmentation of the mechanism to ensure the collective mastership right of the people has not been emphasized.

Therefore, a major problem at present in "constructing" military bastions is to pay all-out attention to educating and enlightening the masses. That must be regarded as the first of a series of basic-level tasks to build combat villages. Thre must be continuous, persistent education in many forms for many categories, so that the popular masses can be aware that the urgent tasks at the local level have the strategic significance of building district military bastions and safe districts, so that they can serve as the masters in that work and in combat to defend the district. That consciousness of mastership must be fully manifested in everyone -- every old person, child, family, base, hamlet, etc. That consciousness must be strictly and fairly manifested in the state laws at the local level and in the rules of "village custom." That consciousness must be concentrated in the correct and creative stands and guidelines of the party committee echelons, which have a decisive significance with regard to bringing all local strength into play in order to successfully build district military bastions.

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PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

LE DUC THO INTERVIEWED

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 9, 10 Apr 85

[Interview with Le Duc Tho by UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL'S Asia/Pacific Editor Sylvana Foa]

[9 Apr 85 p 11]

[Text]

**A** VEIL of mystery surrounds the silver-haired poet who rules Vietnam, the Nobel Peace prize laureate who made his mark on every major campaign in a 30-year war that humiliated first France and, ultimately, the United States.

The mystery begins with his name.

"Oh, people call me by many names; the name is not significant," says the evasive and secretive 74-year-old, widely considered the most powerful man in Vietnam.

Decades ago he adopted the nom de guerre Le Duc Tho, following the example of his mentor, Ho Chi Minh, whose name also was a wartime alias.

It was with that name he engaged Henry Kissinger in a four-year battle of wits at the secret Paris talks on ending the Vietnam war — and emerged not only victorious but unscathed.

And it was as Le Duc Tho that he added insult to injury by refusing to share the Nobel Peace prize with Kissinger, a man he called "a liar, a horsetrader."

It was Le Duc Tho, the political strategist, whose name evoked fear during both the bloody 1968 Tet offensive, which turned the tide of the war, and the Ho Chi Minh campaign that culminated in the dramatic communist capture of Saigon on April 30, 1975.

But there are other names as well.

The 12 aging leaders who sit with him on the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party affectionately call him "Anh Sau" or "6th Brother."

Readers of his emotional poems, which record what he calls "the cornerstones of my life," know him as "Trung Thanh."

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**'IN the past I didn't have holidays, but now I get Sundays because of my age. Before the work was too much and the responsibilities too heavy. In the 40 years since we seized power, the urgent situation did not allow for any rest.'**

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Kissinger, sour at having been outwitted in Paris, dubbed him "ducky."



But when the "gray eminence" of Vietnam was born in the village of Dich Le in North Vietnam's Ha Nam Ninh province on Oct 10, 1911, his mother named him Phan Dinh Khai.

Vietnam's policy maker, the dominant member of the ruling Politburo, leads a spartan life.

Most of his time is spent in a simply furnished bungalow in the park-like retreat along Hanoi's West Lake reserved for high-ranking Communist Party officials.

"I like to work here because it is quiet," Tho says, climbing the stairs to his cozy but unheated office, adorned with the ever-present portrait of Ho Chi Minh.

Despite layers of long underwear visible beneath the floppy green suit and blue plaid wool scarf he wore throughout the three days of interviews, Tho shivers in the bitter North Vietnamese spring.

One minute appearing frail and stooped and the next energetic, he perpetually squints behind thick steel-rimmed glasses.

On his desk, a lamp with a red shade glows beside a bronze plaque of Lenin and a beautiful ink blotter with a red lacquer handle.

Does the most powerful man in Vietnam use an inkwell to write his edicts?

"No, since I negotiated with Kissinger, I used this," Tho says, pulling a ballpoint out of his pocket.

"I used to shake my pen at him," Tho laughs gleefully at the memory. "Whenever I would talk to him I would hold my pen and shake it at him."

Despite vast responsibilities that include overseeing Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchea and attempting to pull his country's devastated economy onto its feet, Tho says age has forced him to cut back his work schedule.

"Now, for me, seven hours of work a day is already a lot. At night, I rest," he says. "I seldom watch television or go to the movies. Once I did but now my eyesight is not so good."

For the past three years, Tho says he even has taken Sundays off — "to take my grandchildren to the zoo."

"In the past I didn't have holidays, but now I get Sundays because of my age," he says. "Before the work was too much and the responsibilities too heavy. There was always a need for solutions on an emergency basis. In the 40 years since we seized power, the urgent situation did not allow for any rest."

"My age does not allow that I work like that anymore."

"Aging people have to find a proper way to work, they have to do regular exercises," he advises, moving the conversation to his parlour.

"Normally I spend three hours a day exercising. I get up at 5:30 am and I do, a combination of yoga, Chinese self-massage, and western-style exercises. And I walk an hour a day."

"The reason I maintain my good condition is thanks to exercise, not food," he states. "I don't eat much. For aging people, light food is proper."

Throughout the three days of interviews, Tho repeatedly urged Vietnamese spring rolls, succulent mangoes and delicately iced cakes on a guest. But he touched nary a morsel and sipped only weak tea.

"I was in the south during the war so 'Cha Gio' is one of my

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**'THE reason I maintain my good health is thanks to exercise, not food. I don't eat much. For aging people, light food is proper.'**

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favourite things," he says, looking longingly at the spring rolls, a typical southern Vietnamese dish. "But I cannot snack. I can eat only regular meals."

Neither does Tho smoke, and he shuns both alcohol and coffee.

"I spent many years in prison and in the jungle so I never got used to those things."

"In Paris, I was strong and that was good because the discussions were very hard. It was a match with Kissinger not only of brains but of health," he says, sighing. "Luckily, then I was in better health."

## PARIS AGREEMENT

At 12:45 pm Paris time on Tuesday the 23rd of January 1973, Le Duc Tho and Henry Kissinger initialed the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam — an accord as cumbersome as its name.

Tho had been dispatched to the Paris talks in May 1968, fresh from his successful direction of the Tet offensive, which spectacularly demonstrated the futility of the US troop buildup in Vietnam.

The secret Paris peace talks began in August 1969 with Tho pulling the strings behind the scenes.

Six months later, he dropped his cover as "special adviser" to the North Vietnamese delegation and sat down across the table from Kissinger as its head negotiator. The frustrating, virtually fruitless bargaining began in earnest.

Kissinger was no match for the obstinate old revolutionary, who was in no hurry to come to terms unless those terms were his own.

But Kissinger, under extreme domestic pressure to end the war, was in a hurry. And Tho knew it.

The two sticking points were the US demand that North Vietnamese troops withdraw from the south simultaneously with the US pullout, and Hanoi's insistence that South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu be overthrown.

"They were tough negotiations," says Tho.

"They demanded everything, unilaterally. And we demanded everything, unilaterally."

"Then at last, he had to make a concession and so did I," he says. "We turned up our last cards. And there was the solution."

In his memoirs, Kissinger heaps abuse on Tho — nick-naming him "ducky" and repeatedly calling him "obnoxious" and "insolent."

Tho seems less perturbed than amused by Kissinger's name-calling.

"I read parts of it but it is too long a memoir and I didn't have time to read it all," Tho sniffs. "It is evident that there is much distortion."

"But if he did not distort the truth in his memoirs, he would not be Mr Kissinger.

"If Mr Kissinger had spoken of me with any warmth, it would have been a surprise for me," Tho adds, pausing to stare out the French doors as an armed soldier on patrol beside the lake appears and then disappears into the Hanoi mist. "I talked to him on many occasions in strong terms, but you must understand that our negotiations took place in unique circumstances.

"It was during the war. There were scenes of massacre, images of the B-52 bombing of Hanoi with many women and children killed, of the tiger cage prisons, 5,000 grave of (North) Vietnamese PoWs who were tortured and killed during their detention.

"That was the atmosphere in which the negotiations took place. It was very tense.

"I once told him 'you are a liar, a horsetrader, you are perfidious.'

"He had agreed with me on the whole text of the agreement, but the next day he changed ... because of this, I called him a liar."

"I once hit the table with my fist — that was when I flew back to Paris after the Christmas 1972 B-52 bombing of Hanoi.

"Before I had left Paris, I had given Kissinger a date and told him on that date I would come back to Paris and the problem would be resolved. But he did not believe me and he ordered the B-52 bombing to exert pressure on us.

"Mr Kissinger himself resorted to different tricks," Tho chuckles. "He turns like a pinwheel."

### NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

On Oct 16, 1973, the Nobel Peace prize was awarded jointly to Kissinger and Tho. It was the most controversial decision in the history of the prize and two Nobel committee members resigned in protest.

"The Paris agreement

**'I READ parts of Kissinger's memoir but it is too long and I didn't have time to read it all. It is evident that there is much distortion. But if he did not distort the truth in his memoirs, he would not be Mr Kissinger.'**

brought a wave of joy and hope to the entire world," the Nobel committee announced, unaware that the agreement already had disintegrated.

Kissinger promptly accepted the honour. Tho waited a week and declined.

"Unfortunately, the Nobel Peace prize committee put the aggressor and the victim of aggression on the same par ... that was a blunder," says Tho, adding that he had written the committee a letter saying just that.

"The Nobel Peace prize is one of the greatest prizes in the world," Tho says. "But the United States conducted a war of aggression against Vietnam. It is we, the Vietnamese people who made peace by defeating the American war of aggression against us, by regaining our independence and freedom.

"The decision was an erroneous one from the beginning," he adds. "I would have been willing to receive an exclusive prize for me.

"But my refusal will be on the record of history and will remind the committee of the regretful mistake they made."

### U.S.-HANOI TIES

Despite past rancor, Tho says he wouldn't mind meeting Kissinger again, recalling that after the Paris talks, Kissinger invited him to visit the United States.

"If Kissinger meets with me now, the topic of discussion would be the normalization of

relations. The war is over so there would not be the tension of the Paris talks," he says.

"The war has been over for a decade now. It is high time for our two countries to normalize relations, that would be the wisest course.

"It would be in the interest of both countries, for peace in this region.

"I would go to the United States at this time if the result would be good, if the Americans wanted it ... I am serious."

"But for such a visit preparations are necessary. Such a meeting cannot be ended with empty hands for either the United States or Vietnam.

"If the United States is for normalization of relations, which we want too, I think we are certain to find a solution."

### PERSONAL LIFE

"This is the first time I have ever spoken to a journalist about my personal revolutionary life," Tho says.

But he deftly parries personal questions, especially those concerning his wife, reportedly a retired ministry of commerce official, and his children.

Tho admits to five grandchildren, but stubbornly sets his jaw when asked how many children he has.

"I planned well," he quips, turning the conversation to Vietnam's postwar baby boom. "But now I do not need any planning."

"The question of family is a minor question in comparison to the great revolutionary cause," he explains. "That is what is important and we should speak only of what is important."

Wouldn't his wife be annoyed at being classified as "a minor question?"

"You badly understood," grumbles Tho. "The sentimental life manifests itself every day. She doesn't depend on words."

Strolling into the garden, Tho pauses beside a bed of roses and becomes suddenly somber.

"Some people think we Communists have no sentiment," he says. "Not even for things like flowers and nature."



The secrecy Tho maintains about his personal life has led to several legends within Vietnam. According to one, Tho has six children and not three, as is widely believed.

A source close to the party hierarchy said, "during the war against the French he went south and lost contact with his first wife. He thought she had been killed and he remarried and started a new family.

"Later, when he learned that the first wife was still alive, he had to choose and he chose the second."

Despite the severe headaches and insomnia he has suffered for years, Tho says he never contemplates retirement.

"It is beyond my thinking. I am willing to work until my last minute except if I am too ill," he says. "I consider it a happiness."

Tho is widely considered the heir apparent to Secretary General Le Duan, now 77, who holds the top party post.

Tho's ambition is obvious. He is always careful to cloak his individual accomplishments behind the phrase "my comrades and I." For the Communist

Party of Vietnam, where secrecy borders on paranoia, personal obscurity is a virtue.

"My revolutionary life, as compared to the revolutionary cause of my people, my nation, is only like a drop of water in the sea," says Tho, lapsing into

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**'THE Nobel Peace prize is one of the greatest prizes in the world. But the US conducted a war of aggression against Vietnam. It is we, the Vietnamese people who made peace by defeating the American war of aggression against us, by regaining our independence and freedom.'**

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well-worn communist rhetoric.

Tho says he became "conscious of the revolution" at the

age of 16 but was still in grade school when he felt the first twinges of rebellion.

"A friend and I were walking on a narrow sidewalk and a Frenchman was walking toward us," Tho reminisces. "My friend was just ahead of me and I told him not to give way to the Frenchman, that he should step aside for us. That French gentleman gave my friend a hard slap."

"I will remember it all my life."

By 1926, Tho had organized a small group of fellow students and was writing articles on "patriotism."

"The revolutionary youth league (founded by Ho Chi Minh in 1925) heard of this and sent comrades to contact me — I joined in 1928." Ho proclaimed Vietnam's independence in 1945 and was North Vietnam's president until his death in 1969.

Tho was a close protegee of Ho and was one of the first, in 1929, to join the Indochinese Communist Party that Ho founded. "In 1930, I was arrested," recalls Tho.

[10 Apr 85 p 11]

[Text]

The young revolutionary was jailed in the notorious island prison of Poulo Condore for the next six years. He was re-arrested in 1939 and imprisoned in Hanoi, in Son La near Dien Bien Phu and finally in Hoa Binh where he was made secretary of the party's prison cell. When he was released in 1944 he had spent 11 of his 33 years in jail.

Tho calls the years he spent in stifling underground cells his most difficult ordeal.

"We had to face very cruel torture by the French. I consider that as the greatest trial of my revolutionary activity," he says.

"We tried to organize escapes and at Hoa Binh I was editor of the prison paper 'Dawn,'" he says. "I had not been to university so I also spent time

learning from the jailed intellectuals. The French could not break our revolutionary morale."

To amuse themselves and "educate our guards," the prisoners staged plays.

"I once played the role of a woman," laughs Tho. "Can you imagine? It was so difficult to move in a woman's clothes. I was very clumsy."

Tho had kept his revolutionary activities hidden from his wealthy academic family and his arrest came as a complete surprise.

"My mother wept and she went to the pagoda to pray for my release."

"But when I was first released in 1936, I talked to her and told her why I had joined the revolution. I explained that my release was not a result of her

prayers to Buddha but of the popular struggle within the country and of the socialist movement in France.

"She understood and from that time, she stopped praying and she supported me in my revolutionary activities — and those of my younger brothers and sisters."

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**'My poems are about my emotions, my life, my visits but most are about soldiers because I understand and sympathize with them.'**

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"When I was in prison for the second time, my mother cared for revolutionary cadre at our home. At that time to hide and feed cadre in your home was a very dangerous thing ... she could have been put into prison. "She died more than 20 years ago," he says sadly.

## PARTY RANKS

Tho rose quickly in the Communist Party ranks. In 1945, he was named to the central committee and in 1951 was elected to the all-powerful Politburo. He was only 39.

On and off since 1957, he has held the post of president of the organization of the party, an innocuous title for a murky job that gives him vast power and influence over Vietnam's 1.7 million Communist Party members.

When he became a permanent member of the party secretariat in 1982, Tho says he delegated most of his organizational tasks.

But he kept the two most important chores.

It is Tho who, before each party Congress, decides who will be nominated to the central committee.

And it is Tho who specifies the proper job — be it Cabinet minister or Politburo member — for each candidate.

"It is one of my most difficult duties," says Tho. "I must assess each man's weaknesses and his strong points and be sure he is acceptable to others."

Tho laughingly denies he is the most powerful man in Vietnam.

"The highest power is in the Politburo, as a committee," he says. "And you know that I'm only a member of that Politburo."

## PROLIFIC POET

Tho is a prolific poet and the few hints Vietnam-watchers have been able to garner about his career have come from the three published volumes of his collected poems.

"My poems are about my emotions, my life, my visits but most are about soldiers because I understand and sympathize with them," Tho says.

"I first began writing poems in 1948 when the central committee sent me on a 3,500 kilometre trip to the south during the fight against the French," he says. "It took seven months on foot and by boat. I made many poems on the way and they were published in a book called 'On the Road'."

His second volume dealt with poems written on the Ho Chi Minh trail during the war with the United States and during the final campaign that resulted in the capture of Saigon on April 30, 1975.

His third volume was written as he directed what the Vietnamese call "the campaign on the southwest frontier" — their invasion of Kampuchea. It also contains poems that show Tho's important decision-making role in the fight with neighbouring China.

**'I hadn't been to Saigon since I passed a night there on my way to prison in Poulo Condore — that time in handcuffs. This time I was not in handcuffs. For me, it was a moment of indescribable emotion.'**

One of his favourite poems was written in 1975, when he was sent south to monitor the final phase of the war.

Together with Pham Hung, currently interior minister, and Gen Van Tien Dung, currently defence minister, Tho made his headquarters in the jungles near Ben Cat. It was there that he heard the radio broadcast of the surrender by South Vietnam's last president, Duong Van "big" Minh, on the morning of April 30.

"The next day we entered the city," recalls Tho. "The roads were littered with the clothing the puppet troops had taken off

to flee, even their weapons, their grenades.

"I hadn't been to Saigon since I passed a night there on my way to prison in Poulo Condore — that time in handcuffs. This time I was not in handcuffs.

"For me, it was a moment of indescribable emotion."

When he reached Saigon, Tho sent his Politburo comrades a report in the form of a poem:

*"Finished forever, our days  
Of hunger, misery and great pain:*

*"Our north and south are reunited*

*"Like brothers, under the same roof.*

*"The task entrusted us by great Uncle Ho*

*"In his will*

*"Has been achieved.*

*"And now he surely sleeps in peace.*

*"The sky, today, is infinitely beautiful, infinitely clear."*

Tho also performs duties as detailed and mundane as inspecting state-run factories.

On a recent tour, nervous officials of the Hanoi shoe factory, expecting Tho to arrive in one of the black limousines favoured by top party officials, ignored the tiny white Soviet-made Lada car that puffed its way through the gates.

Only when the elderly man with the famous shock of silver hair squeezed out of the back seat did they snap to attention, whispering: "Le Duc Tho, Le Duc Tho." "He refuses to have a large security detail," grumbles a member of his entourage. "He's just like (Prime Minister) Pham Van Dong, always trying to shoo away his bodyguards."

"Usually I must spend a whole day, or two whole days, at a factory to get a general picture," says Tho, often called the Politburo's inspector general. "One needs to contact as many people as possible, party leaders, ordinary workers, economic managers..."

"To understand a factory only through its director is not to understand the factory."

Tho's speech is spiced with political homilies and homespun adages.

"To understand the situation, to control and supervise the situation, one must understand

**'I spent all my life in the war, three consecutive wars in the last 40 years, and in those years we had little time to study economic management. Now, from the military front, I am on the economic front and I am like a student. I find it more difficult than the military front.'**

the grassroots base and be close to the masses," he intones.

"If you sit on your seat all day you are just a bureaucrat and you understand nothing," he adds with a harrumph.

Tho chats and laughs easily with factory officials and young girls at their sewing machines, often reaching out to squeeze an arm or pat a shoulder.

"Sometimes they try to show me only the good things," he confides. "But I tell them very often, 'do not be afraid of your mistakes, it is human to make mistakes.'"

"I try not to be critical, especially not too hastily. I try not to say anything until I have heard from all the people — otherwise it is counterproductive," he says. "I try to approach them so they are not afraid of me. We have to behave as ordinary comrades."

Tho, a strong supporter of moderate economic reforms begun in 1982, says the disastrous state of Vietnam's economy is currently his highest priority.

"I spent all my life in the war, three consecutive wars in the last 40 years, and in those years we have little time to study economic management," he says.

"Now, from the military front, I am on the economic front and I am like a student," he sighs. "I find it more difficult than the military front."

Touring the factory, Tho stoops a little with fatigue, stopping to ask workers about their salaries, how they spend their money and whether or not they like their jobs.

"We do things manually here that in other countries are done by machines," he says sadly, watching a girl cutting glove patterns.

The work gloves, the factory director says, are for export to East Germany.

"Do not make a blunder in signing a contract with East Germany," Tho whispers to the director. "Always try to get the best prices because they always will try for a low price."

Tho admits he and other Vietnamese leaders failed to predict the disastrous effects of the end of the war on the Vietnamese economy.

The American faucet that poured billions of dollars in aid and materiel into South Vietnam was suddenly shut, as was the pipeline from China to the north. The billions the Soviet Union gave the north during the conflict were just as suddenly cut off, to continue only in part and only as loans.

"I told my cadre, 'the difficulties are still many and it will take time to solve the problems,'" he says, chopping the air with one hand in a habitual gesture. "But I never thought that war would be imminent on the southwest frontier (with Kampuchea) and on the northern border (with China)."

With Vietnam now solidly in the Soviet camp, Peking and Hanoi have resumed their centuries-old animosity, fighting a bloody border war in 1979.

**'We are a little nation which fought the Americans and we understand that no weapons, no matter how powerful, can suppress an entire nation. We are welcomed by the Kampuchians. We want peace, we want a political solution, not a violent solution. We believe it is time to sit at the negotiation table.'**

Tho, who has personally presided over Hanoi's Kampuchea policy since 1977, commanded the operation that sent 200,000 Vietnamese fighters into Kampuchea in December 1978.

He blames the Kampuchean situation on Chinese efforts to destabilize Vietnam, and says Peking encouraged Kampuchea to attack Vietnam during the late 1970s — forcing Hanoi to invade "in self-defence."

Tho says Vietnam is anxious to end the costly conflict, the biggest stumbling block to diplomatic relations between Hanoi and Washington.

He also insists the Kampuchians have pleaded with Vietnam not to withdraw and leave them once again at the mercy of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot, who turned Kampuchea into a killing field during his bloody 1975-78 reign.

"How can Vietnam be considered the villain?" Tho asks.

"We are a little nation which fought the Americans and we understand that no weapons, no matter how powerful, can suppress an entire nation. We

are welcomed by the Kampuchians.

"We want peace, we want a political solution, not a violent solution," Tho says. "We believe it is time to sit at the negotiation table."

### THO'S DREAMS

Later, strolling along the banks of Hanoi's West Lake, Tho talks about his dreams for Vietnam.

"To make a revolution, one must have a dream," he says. "The road of revolution is full of thorns and to climb it, one must have a dream."

"Ho Chi Minh said nothing is more precious than independence and freedom and that was our dream when I was young."

"I am one of the most fortunate," he says, "because I

am alive to see the dream come true.

"Occasionally we talk about it, my comrades and I, and we wonder that we are still alive to see the dream of independence realized after all those years in prison, all those years in the jungle."

"Our greatest dream now is to be able to stabilize the country and better the life of our people in a nation already independent and reunified," he says, and recites a poem he wrote in 1960.

*"The revolutionary path is an endless one."*

*"Full of trial and test."*

*"But also full of flowers"*

*"And fresh grass."*

He leads the way down his garden path. Like his name, it is shrouded in mist.

CSO: 4200/837

## PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

### HOANG TUNG GLORIFIES PARTY ON 55TH ANNIVERSARY

Hanoi TAP CHI GIAO DUC LY LUAN in Vietnamese Jan-Feb 85 pp 1-10

[ Speech by Hoang Tung: "Fifty-five Years of the Glorious CPV " ]

[ Text ] Abridged speech by Hoang Tung, secretary of the CPV Central Committee, on propaganda and education on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the establishment of the party at the Propaganda and Training Conference of the northern provinces and municipalities (18 December 1984).

For us every period of commemoration is a period of revolutionary education -- teaching the traditions of the party, nation and class so as to make every cadre, every party member and the people think better, live more correctly and work better for the revolutionary undertaking. Naturally, education cannot be limited to generalized speeches on traditions, but it must be closely linked with the situation and immediate task and analyze and resolve political and ideological matters and the ones having to do with the real tasks that are being set forth, for the purpose of teaching people and stepping up the revolutionary undertaking.

Soon we will solemnly organize the celebration of the 55th anniversary of the establishment of the CPV. On this occasion, we must start a period of very widespread propaganda and education in the party and in society to deal with the glorious traditions of the party and its revolutionary undertaking in the past 55 years.

The revolutionary traditions of our party in the past 55 years were extremely fine. We can say that in the international communist movement, the CPV is one of the staunchest and most revolutionary and loyal parties. Our party is absolutely loyal to the communist ideals, the interests of the worker class and Vietnamese nation and its international obligation.

Our party was among the first ones that were born in the colonial days of imperialism. During its entire active existence, it always showed the revolutionary fighting quality of a political party of the worker class and had never made any opportunistic mistakes. Naturally, on the difficult and complex road of the past 55 years, it was not able to avoid stumbling and making mistakes, even serious mistakes, but it had never made any opportunistic mistakes. In booms and crises, it had never ceased to carry on the revolution, nor to fight, and had never compromised with the enemy of the class and nation. On the contrary, it was being on the offensive, always fighting, accepting any challenges and resisting one enemy after another.

Our party is a truly revolutionary one. Right at the time of its birth, it was able to adopt a correct revolutionary program. Its 1930 political program was an extremely correct one in terms of the basic problems of the revolution and the two revolutionary stages our country underwent, and closely linked the interests of the worker class with those of the Vietnamese nation. That was why right after it had been born, our party was able to assert its leadership role and was a party that showed a broad mass character. It became a party of the worker class and the nation. It was the real representative of the interests of both the oppressed nation and Vietnamese worker class. Its greatness and correctness mostly resulted from the fact that it knew how to closely link the interests of the worker class with those of the nation. How urgent was the liberation of an oppressed and enslaved nation! This is a matter that is easily understandable for us today, but half a century ago it was not that simple. That was why right after it had been born, our party was able to assemble the large working masses for active participation in the struggle under the banner of its leadership and for confirming that the CPV was their leader. And that was why since 1930 the imperialists, colonialists, bourgeois and feudalists in the country and the enemy forces abroad have been considering our party their fearful enemy.

Our country's revolutionary realities in the past 55 years have proved in an eloquent manner that the history of the CPV is closely linked with that of the Vietnamese nation and the struggle of the CPV is never separated from that of the worker class and the Vietnamese nation. The revolutionary undertaking of the party is that of the nation. This undertaking is truly great; the victories that have been scored are extremely big!

The first great undertaking (or the first great victory) was that of 15 years of struggle for power (1930-1945). In the 15 years of illegal struggle, the 3 great revolutionary movements were widely spreading in the entire country, from cities to the countryside, from the delta to the highlands, and covering both majority and minority people, both workers and farmers, both the bourgeois intellectuals and other strata of the working population. Each time a mass movement appeared or a major offensive took place, it always led to



decisive fighting and to uprisings. Although the high leadership organ of the party realized that those uprisings, which often were spontaneous, had broken out in an untimely manner, it was not able to slow down the movement, for instance the rising movement in 1930-1931, or more precisely in 1929-1930-1931. In fact, a few months after the party had been born, a rising revolutionary mass movement appeared throughout the country: the party was being quickly developed in all three regions -- the North, the Center and the South. The revolutionary movement could be likened to "mushrooms (that) grow in the spring." The colonialists and their lackeys were trying to use prisons, jails, guillotines and even bombs and bullets in their acts of repression, terrorism, arrests and killings, but our people were never scared and never gave up. The movement was immersed in a sea of blood and for a short time encountered a temporary crisis, but a new mass movement followed. That was a special quality of our country's revolutionary movement under the leadership of the party. In the first 2 years (1930-1931), with the movement being seriously affected by white terror, the revolutionary force suffered a loss of 90-95 percent, but after only 3 years (1933-1934-1935) of crisis, there again appeared a new rising movement (1936-1939) that was more widespread and profound and led to the Nam Ky (Cochinchina) uprising. Faced with fiercer white terror, the revolution entered another crisis. But as the crisis this time came along with a world war and war in the country, it led to a new mass movement, one that was much more widespread and larger than before. That was the preuprising movement leading to the general uprising in August 1945. Thus we had prior to the general uprising many general rehearsals. As long as we had the party, we had a revolutionary mass movement, which led to uprising; as an uprising failed, it appeared later and reappeared following another failure and then scored victory. It took only 15 years to complete such a great undertaking. That was the great vitality of the Vietnamese revolution, the CPV and the Vietnamese people.

Among the uprisings that broke out as a direct outcome of World War 2, our general uprising in August 1945 probably was the only one that succeeded without any assistance from the world revolution, mainly with our own efforts and with any foreign factor being only an objective condition.

For 15 years living under a ruthless colonial regime and its bloody machinery of repression and oppression, the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the party, had been fighting staunchly, rising up and scoring proud victories. What a rare historical chapter! The Russian revolution did the same thing. Born in 1903, the Bolshevik Party succeeded in 1917 in carrying out an October general uprising whose victory resounded throughout the world. Lenin's party, born under the ruthless regime of terror of the feudalists and bourgeois, was staunchly carrying out the 1905 Revolution, then the February 1917 Revolution and finally the great October Revolution. The overall aspects of our revolution were the same. That was a similarity, not a total imitation.

Probably scientists will eventually clarify why the communists of the Soviet Union and the communists of Vietnam were able to make such achievements.

In short, the revolutionary undertaking of our party and our nation in the first 15 years was marked by a successful nationwide general uprising and the earliest establishment of the worker-farmer revolutionary power in the colonial days of imperialism. There were so many extremely interesting things in those 15 years of the revolutionary undertaking, but we have not talked and written enough about them in comparison with the historical facts.

The second great undertaking was the war of resistance against the French colonialists. Why was a newly-born revolutionary state lying within the encirclement of imperialism and the reactionary forces capable of sustaining a revolutionary war for several years? Although from 1950 on the situation was changed and became different than before, from 1946 to 1949, which were extremely difficult and tense years, we still were able to hold up the fight and finally to score victory. The war of resistance against the French colonialists was a revolutionary war waged by our people's young revolutionary administration under the leadership of the party to protect the achievements of the August Revolution. That was the first fight against the fortress of colonialism to make it collapse and thereby to contribute to encouraging the struggle for liberation of the oppressed nations and to destroy the colonial system.

The third great undertaking, which was the development to a larger degree of the earlier undertakings, was the resistance against America for national salvation. We defeated the greatest aggressive power of the era, an international gendarme. That victory surprised all other imperialist forces, as well as the revolutionary forces in the world, which could not understand why Vietnam was able to defeat the American imperialists. Among our close and dear friends, some people also said, "We were patiently supporting you, but we still could not understand how you defeated the Americans." Today, even among ourselves, we still feel overwhelmed, really overwhelmed by the victory. Our people's resistance against America for national salvation had a broad multifaceted influence on the world, with many people abroad referring to the "postVietnam period." During his recent visit to our country, Narciso Isa Condo, general secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, told the leaders of our party that he belonged to the group that grew up in the period of Vietnam's resistance for national salvation, took part in the movement to support Vietnam's fight against America, became a communist party member and is now the general secretary of the party. The revolutionary and progressive forces not only in the Dominican Republic but also in many other countries like Sweden, Norway and other North European countries, Japan, West Germany, France and even the United States were profoundly influenced by our people's resistance against America for national salvation. This resistance really is a miraculous fact of the 20th century. For decades, mostly since



the end of World War 2, people often were talking about America's tremendous might that was invincible, but now this tremendous might was shattered in a country whose economic and national defense potential was several times smaller than that of America and whose name -- Vietnam -- had been unknown to many people in the world.

The fourth great undertaking was the victory over the aggression of the Chinese hegemony-advocating expansionists. That was a great achievement to be very proud of. But some of our cadres, party members and people, as well as many people in the world, have not yet fully seen the crafty design of the Chinese reactionaries, nor recognized the great significance and scope of this conflict. We all know that after 30 years of continual fighting against France and America, the 2 big imperialists, we now have to overcome very many difficulties and wants in order to restore our economy and to heal the war wounds, but we must also continue to deal with the new enemy. They plot the conquest of our country and want to turn our nation into their possession as they did in the Ch'in and Han dynasties. They hope to carry out their savage policies as they have done in Kampuchea, to make us exhausted and so weak as to be unable to resist them, to turn our country into their steppingstone for expansion to and conquest of other nations in South Asia and expansion to other countries in the world and to realize their millennial dream of world domination. However, we have brought about their collapse in Kampuchea, defeated them at our northern border and stopped their southward offensive; although the fight still continues, it is obvious that this is a glorious victory.

If we did not destroy the genocidal regime in Kampuchea, let us ask, would Nam Bo be safe and what would happen to our country? If we did not defeat the Chinese aggressors at our northern border, if we did not fight vigorously on all three battlefields of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, how dangerous it would be for the destiny of our nation? We must make everybody fully realize the significance and importance of this fight; any signs of indifference, any lack of vigilance or underestimation are indications of deviation and danger.

To defeat China, to stop its expansion and conquest plot and to steadily ensure the national independence of the countries on the Indochinese peninsula is an extremely great and very important undertaking. Le Duan has often reminded us that our propaganda and education must make the young generations know that the Vietnamese people's greatest happiness is to have enough power and enough force to stop and to thwart China's plot for expansion and conquest and to maintain our independence and self-rule. We have defeated three big imperialists -- Japan, France and America -- and now have enough strength to deal with Chinese expansionism and to permanently maintain our independence and self-rule. That is our greatest happiness. He has also said that we must make everybody remember our ancestors' generations under the rule of the Trung Sisters, Madame Trieu, etc. and the time we were under their domination -- how much our nation had suffered then. Now we have the greatest

happiness of maintaining our independence. But there still are people who wonder where happiness is. Whether we have or do not have happiness. We must see that since we had the party with the fight lasting for over half a century, our era, our generation and our nation have had a great happiness.

Our people have fought and defeated all enemy forces; we are a revolutionary, pioneering and fighting nation. In our fight, sometimes we do not win yet, but even if we do not win yet, we still have the revolution and the good cause. The outlook on life of the revolutionaries in oppressed countries is to fight against oppression. An oppressed nation must rise up against the oppression of other nations; the oppressed class must stand up against the ruling class. That is the revolutionaries' ideal and reason to live. Although we still have many wants and serious difficulties of many kinds in our daily life today, the great happiness of our nation is the fact that we have fought and defeated all four aggressors and have maintained our independence and self-rule.

The fifth great undertaking was to wipe out all systems of oppression and exploitation. Through 55 years of fighting, we were able to achieve an extremely important undertaking -- liberating the nation and reunifying the fatherland. To liberate the nation was the dream and noble ideal that many past generations had been fighting and sacrificing themselves for but had failed to attain. From the generation of Phan Dinh Phung and Phan Boi Chau to the generation of Hoang Hoa Tham and Nguyen Thai Hoc, in half a century, they had been fighting with staunch determination and courage, but they had always failed. Our party, guided by the theories of scientific communism, after half a century of struggle has completed the national liberation undertaking as it made our nation become an independent and free nation and our country fully reunified. How can we forget the North-South division that lasted for 200 years under the Trinh and Nguyen clans and the pain that resulted from the country being partitioned in the last 20 years? In the past, our ancestors had on many occasions reunified the country, but those periods were temporary and short; today, our land is one whole piece of territory, with 60 million people having abundant vitality and rich potential and gradually becoming more mature.

The land being independent and reunified, the people being free and society being no longer oppressed and exploited -- those are the ideals the communists fight for in all their lives. We have achieved the first important goal of the revolution, a reality the past generations of combatants did not have a chance to witness yet.

Our society has moved from the era of necessity into that of freedom. The working people truly are the authentic and absolute masters of society. The system of private ownership of the means of production is being abolished and the system of public ownership has been set up; it is obvious that the right of ownership in connection with the means of production and with the

management and supervision of production, as well as with the distribution of the products made, belongs to the working people. But wherever this ownership right is violated, the responsibility of the communists is to struggle to achieve at any cost the working people's ownership right, first of all in the economic life. We must see all of the strength of a society in which the system of public ownership of the means of production has been firmly set up and the working people are the collective owners. That is the greatest reality marking a new era in our country. Only after 55 years of struggling under the party leadership we succeeded in abolishing all systems of oppression and exploitation and made the nation independent and the people free; although we still have shortages and difficulties, obviously that is our strength, that is the great happiness. The aspirations and dream of mankind and the wishes of many nations through many centuries that remained unfulfilled have now become a reality in our country. How great this happiness is!

Following the victories in the August Revolution and in the wars of resistance against France and America, and after 8 years in which we defeated the Chinese hegemony-advocating expansionists, thwarted the postwar plan of the imperialists, restored the economy, developed our culture, reorganized the economy throughout the country in the direction of socialism, abolished all systems of oppression and exploitation, transformed the system of private ownership and built the system of public ownership, how great are such undertakings and such victories! We are striving to achieve in 1985 the goal of basically establishing the socialist production relationships in the entire country. The working people are masters of the land, masters of society and truly the owners everywhere, in all fields and in all localities. Here the will of the working people is the highest one. This is the will of those people who wrote the pages of history with blood and tears in the past 55 years for our nation. This is the will of the collective of workers, farmers and other working people in all regions of the fatherland, who were fighting persistently, suffering from hardships and making sacrifices that changed the destiny of our country. Our party is only the organizer and leader and is a part of these forces.

Those were the 5 great undertakings, the 5 great victories that continually took place in the past 55 years of our fight. As we look back and review those 55-year historical pages, we feel even more proud of the gallant feats of arms of our party, our nation and the Vietnamese worker class.

Dear comrades,

In the last 10 years we have committed a number of mistakes and shortcomings. We clearly determined that the socialist industrialization would be the central task in the transitional period. That was totally correct. But as we made arrangements for carrying it out, we did something wrong, such as we drew up a series of large-scale projects which have remained unfinished

even after 10 years. The 5th Party Congress has criticized that mistake; the 6th Party Congress will very likely talk about it. That was a specific mistake; however, as to the spirit, the will and the line of our party, it has clearly decided that we must resolutely build a strong industry; without a great industry, we will not be strong enough to resist the Chinese hegemony-advocating expansionists and will not be able to quickly build a prosperous socialist fatherland.

In history, sometimes we bumped against specific mistakes but were forced to accept them. The Nghe Tinh Soviet and the Nam Ky (Cochinchina) uprising were some examples. Although the uprising had failed, the spirit of the Nghe Tinh Soviet and Nam Ky uprising provided the Vietnamese revolution with extremely precious lessons. Without those two trials there could have been no August Revolution. Although Marx had criticized the Paris commune, he still praised it as the sky-high assault, the first epic of the international worker class. Because of our aspiration for quickly overcoming poverty and backwardness and also because of a lack of experience in industrial production, we wanted to do a lot of things as we arranged for industrial construction. However, the first socialist construction projects, such as the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power plant, Pha Lai thermoelectric power plant, Tri An hydroelectric power plant, etc., were very lasting ones.

Recently we made a shortcoming out of neglecting the socialist transformation of private commerce and neglecting market management. As the state was unable to control goods and money and allowed the speculators and illegal business people to hold monopoly and the enemy to take advantage of the situation, the livelihood of a component of the population, particularly of workers, civil servants and the armed forces, encountered excessive difficulties. I avail myself of this opportunity to clarify a point about the relationship between workers and farmers. If we do not pay proper attention to the interests of farmers and fail to encourage them to maintain and step up production, production will encounter many difficulties, as it did in recent years when we had serious natural calamities, and land will be left uncultivated. But naturally, we must always give more favor to workers; this does not mean that because they are the leading class, they have more privileges, but rather because the value of industrial production is higher and is the last factor that determines the development of the economy of our country. We must have a correct understanding of fair distribution. Otherwise we will very easily have a distorted concept of the relationship between the interests of workers and farmers.

Another matter that must be further clarified is the confusion in the awareness of some cadres and people who believe that the situation lying ahead is a dead end and that the negative aspects that are growing cannot be stopped. It is dangerous to let some people find that the present and the future are grim,

for they will lose sight and the determination to fight. We are carrying on an unprecedentedly profound and total revolution, transforming the old, building the new, building the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new man. We must build everything from the beginning, from the material force to the spiritual values, from the infrastructure to the superstructure.

Our party at its birth had just a few dozens of people whose age averaged 20; at that time, it had nothing, just an ideal, an aspiration, a will. But that will was extremely strong as its members had decided to sacrifice their lives in order to change an entire social system. Our armed forces in the beginning were small and had rudimentary weapons, including wooden guns for training, but have now become a powerful army that has defeated four mighty aggressors.

Today, we are the masters of an entire country with all of its natural resources and a people that has the tradition of having fought staunchly for thousands of years. And in the last half century, our nation was growing up in every way and more than in any periods in the past became more mature in political, cultural and intellectual affairs. Our people has become a pioneering, progressive and revolutionary people, a people that is intelligent and creative, has been trained and hardened in wars and revolution and is praised by friends around the world as an outstanding people.

The historic mission of the present generation is to make the country prosperous and the people well clothed and well fed. This undertaking cannot be completed in a short time. If it takes two generations to build prosperity for the country and a life of plenty and happiness for the people, this will be a normal thing. It has been only 10 years and we could not have done much more. We must use the historical lessons of our party in the past 55 years of fighting to overcome at any cost the pessimistic phenomena. In order to build a modern industry we must have one or two generations of industrious and creative labor. While we still do not have enough to eat, we are being wasteful. As we accumulate thousands of billions of dong for the industrialization, we must develop the will of past generations and work as hard as we can with the sense of responsibility for the nation being raised to a high level. In order to score a great achievement we must have a strong will. We are facing bright prospects. We must be masters of the national construction, not be dependent, uphold the spirit of self-reliance in every individual, every organization, every locality, and so on, and exploit in the best manner all our capabilities.

The will to be self-reliant is the tradition of our nation, party and forefathers. Uncle Ho, at the age of 20, after having decided that the road taken by his predecessors had been unsuitable for the modern time, resolutely left the country to seek a road to national salvation, later organized the Communist

Party and drove the revolution to success. At the time of departure, he was only a normal youth but had a strong will and was determined to carry it out at any cost. We must follow in his footsteps. For 50 years (1920-1969), the first communist of our party, along with his comrades, was fighting and sacrificing everything in order to carry it out. Let us work as hard as we can and boost our efforts to the highest level.

The correctness of our party is the origin of every success. Our party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism and has affirmed the establishment of the system of collective ownership for the working people as a mechanism, a driving force and a goal of the revolution and the fact that the three revolutions are to be carried on and developed at the same time. Our party has decided that the direction to take for economic development is to closely link industry with agriculture, a decision that is generally correct in spite of the fact that at times the position of each sector may be different. We have also found and initially resolved a series of new problems, such as renewing the management mechanism. This proves the intelligence and creative talent of our people and party.

The point we must strongly affirm is that our country's revolution in the last 10 years was good and was continuously moving forward. The revolution has continuously developed itself on the socialist road. The socialist revolution is winning in all fields. The new production relationships have been established; the material and technical base of socialism has had great works of lasting value. The ideological and cultural revolution has scored remarkable achievements. And there have been initial changes for the better in the socioeconomic management mechanism. In the fight for the defense of the fatherland at the northern border, as well as on other battlefields in Indochina, we and the two fraternal countries have scored great victories; political security and social order and security have been maintained.

Thus the revolution is in good shape and is being in a process of development, but is not yet stable; our economy is not yet stabilized. The task of developing the economy must go through a long process before it can stabilize itself, for we are moving forward from a small-scale production, must rely on our own efforts first and do not have a modern industry yet. The period of transition from the small-scale production to the socialist large-scale production is a relatively long one. We cannot have right away a modern industry in 10 or 15 years. So far we have not yet finished the first phase of the transitional period. We must persist and make very great efforts. We must step up production, know how to live with our own productive power and care about accumulating wealth for the national construction. Patience is a characteristic of the Vietnamese people, but in the process of moving forward many people appear impatient.



We must make everybody fully realize that the transitional period in our country is a long period; even the countries that already have a developed industry must go through a relatively long period.

To change the old economic structure into a new one with a rational management mechanism also is an extremely difficult and complex task that requires a relatively long time. Particularly for the economy of our country, which starts as a backward agricultural economy with a poor material and technical base, has been destroyed by war and is coping with a kind of multifaceted war of destruction, it is not easy to have right away a stable new economic structure. Even in the countries that have a developed and stable economy, to switch from one mechanism to another must also take 10-15 years. Ordinarily if we want to change a mechanism, we must first do it on a trial basis in order to gain some experience. Since we are used to a management mechanism that is centralized, bureaucratic and fully supported from top to bottom, it must take some time to switch to a new mechanism. The creation of the mechanism of signing product contracts with labor groups and laborers in agricultural production has been a good experience. We must combine the creative experiences of the masses in all localities with the leadership and guidance of the higher echelons in order to create new mechanisms. We must build up our knowledge, go through the realities and fight against old habits and even enemy destruction.

Those are the ideological matters that the propaganda and educational task must clarify for all our cadres, party members and people.

What is the most important reason for the success of our country's revolution?

First of all, it is the qualities of the Vietnamese, who love independence and freedom. The Vietnamese always have strong patriotic traditions and cherish their country's independence and freedom. From time immemorial, never did a generation of Vietnamese submit itself to aggressive forces. This tradition has become our nation's will, nature and strength. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" has become a lasting truth for our nation.

Thanks to this precious quality our people have easily absorbed the fine Marxist-Leninist ideology and the latter has quickly become the strength of the masses who are determined to sacrifice everything for independence and freedom of the fatherland and social progress.

Secondly, we Vietnamese, from workers and farmers to intellectuals, are not vitiated by religions. Although there exist different degrees of superstition and religious beliefs, such degrees are far from fanatical and heavy. The

class and religious problem in Vietnam does not have a tremendous weight. Since the class teachings of Confucius and Mencius do not have a profound influence, the Vietnamese easily advocate atheism and easily understand dialectical materialism.

Thirdly, the bourgeois individualistic thinking is not really rooted in the mind of the Vietnamese, nor have the private ownership system and thinking become a great obstacle in the Vietnamese society. This is an advantage that history has created for us. Consequently, the ideas of equality and freedom of scientific socialism have entered Vietnam smoothly and have become an invincible force which no other force can drive back. Such a nation, such a society has given birth to Nguyen Ai Quoc and the Vietnamese communists. Nguyen Ai Quoc was the symbol of the Vietnamese people's heroism and fine qualities. The worker class, at the time of the party's birth, in spite of its small size, already represented the most progressive force of the revolution. The farmer class is not the one that has strong ideas about private ownership. They are patriotic farmers having heroic struggling traditions, do not come from slavery but are free farmers and are a typical force of the nation. The skillful leadership of the party and the creativity and heroic qualities of the masses have written the glorious pages of history in the past 55 years.

Fourthly, the Vietnamese people is an industrious, patient people capable of bearing hardships and ready to make sacrifices. The ability to make sacrifices has virtually become a characteristic of the Vietnamese people.

History has proved that fact. After the failure of the Nghe Tinh Soviet movement, how were the masses capable of launching later movements if they had been scared and had lost their fighting spirit? For 30 years they had been fighting, with so many difficulties and hardships, and yet they had never been afraid. They have fought and are now fighting the new enemy and the time involved may be long, but our people will never move backward. That is the characteristic strength of the Vietnamese. That is their revolutionary heroism. We must educate the generations of Vietnamese of today and tomorrow to make them clearly see this characteristic and further develop it.

Fifthly, our nation and our people are intelligent and have rich experience in fighting against oppression, aggression and natural calamities.

We must know how to appreciate and respect and further develop this strength of our nation and people.

We have a leader who deeply symbolized the quintessence of our nation and party, beloved Uncle Ho. He was a brilliant example. We pledge forever to live, to fight, to work and to learn as we follow the example of great Uncle Ho.



PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

MINISTER OF PUBLIC HEALTH SPEECH AT CONFERENCE

Hanoi SUC KHOE in Vietnamese 5 Jan, 5 Feb 85

[Report by Minister of Public Health Dang Hoi Xuan at the National Science and Education Conference, 26 November 1984-1 December 1984: "Some Proposals Aimed at Strengthening the Leadership of the Party Committees in Public Health Work"]

[5 January 1985, pp 3, 15]

[Text] Dear Le Quang Dao, Party Central Committee secretary and head of the Department of Science and Education of the Central Committee, and Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Dear members of the Party Central Committee and heads of the science and education sectors on the central level;

Dear representatives of the provincial, municipal and special zone party committees of the entire country;

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Ministry of Public Health, allow me to extend a warm welcome to the delegates of the provincial, municipal and special zone party committees. I have been given the assignment by the Department of Science and Education of the Party Central Committee of reporting to you on a number of problems in public health work.

Our party has always been concerned with public health work. The resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party pointed out the following concerning public health work: on the basis of utilizing the tremendous forces of the people and the capabilities of the localities and all related sectors, we must make appropriate investments in protecting and gradually cleaning up the environment, improve the quality and effectiveness of the efforts to prevent and control epidemics, to prevent and control social diseases and organize medical examinations and treatment better. We must continue to use and develop folk medicine and more effectively combine folk medicine with modern medical science. We must strengthen and develop the public health network,

especially the public health line on the basic level and the line on the district, precinct and ward level. One pressing task we face is the need to develop every existing domestic capability so that we can successfully establish sources of pharmaceuticals, take positive steps to build the pharmaceutical industry and produce public health equipment and create all of the conditions needed to quickly alleviate the shortage of medicine, which includes exporting goods in order to import medicine." The congress also stressed the need to "continue promoting the planned parenthood campaign."

In recent years, we have encountered very many difficulties in public health work: the aftermath of the war, which has yet to be completely overcome, has adversely affected the health situation; the many difficulties facing the economy prevent us from making appropriate investments in public health work; and we must constantly deal with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionaries. Despite these problems and as a result of the leadership provided by the various party committees, from the central to the local and basic levels, and their determination to implement the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, public health work has been maintained and developed and noteworthy achievements have been recorded in a number of fields. On 2 April 1984, the Council of Ministers issued Resolution number 55-HDBT on "public health work in the immediate future." This resolution evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of public health work in the recent past and set forth guidelines, tasks, targets, policies and measures designed to insure the continued effective implementation of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress. The Ministry of Public Health issued detailed instructions to the localities concerning the implementation of this resolution and is now initiating the various jobs that must be performed for the resolution to be implemented. Recently, the Council of State also heard a report from the Ministry of Public Health and issued important supplementary instructions. At this conference, in order to assist the various party committee echelons in gaining a better understanding and providing better leadership of public health work with a view toward insuring the successful implementation of the resolution of the party congress, the resolution of the party plenum and resolution number 55-HDBT of the Council of Ministers, we will discuss and shed additional light on the following several matters:

1. The current health situation of the people;
2. A number of matters concerning the socialist approach to public health;
3. Some preliminary thoughts on the guidelines for public health work in the years ahead;
4. A number of proposals.

#### I. The Current Health Situation of Our People

The current health situation of our people reflects the characteristic features of a socialist country that is one of the developing countries, a country that has been facing the serious consequences of a long war and the vestiges of colonialism, both old and new. These characteristic features are:

1. The most common diseases found among our people continue to be mainly bacterial diseases:

According to data compiled through basic investigations, 24.42 percent of the population is afflicted with bacterial or parasitic diseases, such as dysentery, malaria and so forth (thus making this the group of diseases that has the highest morbidity rate). Respiratory diseases, such as inflammation of the throat, pneumonia, asthma and so forth, afflict 16.9 percent of the population and are the second most common diseases. Fecal examinations have revealed that 92.5 percent of the persons tested have worms; in children, this rate is 95.9 percent.

At medical treatment facilities, patients afflicted with bacterial or parasitic diseases are the most numerous, accounting for anywhere from 20.8 to 22.3 percent of the patients arriving for examination and treatment. The second most common diseases are respiratory diseases, which account for 15.2 to 17.8 percent of the patient load. Intestinal tract disorders are the third most common ailments, accounting for 10.3 to 12 percent. Among children, bacterial and respiratory disease morbidity is much higher: 33.2 to 35.9 percent for bacterial diseases and 27 to 29.3 percent for respiratory illnesses.

To date, we have only succeeded in wiping out smallpox. The other epidemics and communicable diseases have yet to be brought under control and the morbidity and mortality rates associated with these diseases remain high. Epidemics have broken out in every year since 1980. These epidemics have varied from minor to major in scope depending upon the nature of each disease and the preventive measures taken by our cadres and people, such as the maintenance of good hygiene, vaccinations, close observation of the spread of an epidemic, etc. More often than not, epidemics start in the provinces of the Mekong Delta, the Central Highlands, Eastern Nam Bo and southern Trung Bo and then spread by human contact to the other provinces. Plague generally breaks out in the provinces of Eastern Nam Bo, the Mekong Delta and Ho Chi Minh City. In 1983, hemorrhagic fever spread to many provinces and municipalities. Deserving of more concern is the rise in the malaria morbidity rate. The percentage of the population afflicted with malaria is high, especially in the provinces along the Vietnam-Laos border, the Central Highlands, central Trung Bo and the northern border provinces. DDT resistant mosquitoes, drug resistant parasites and an unstable public health network on the basic level are posing many difficulties to efforts to prevent and control malaria.

According to basic investigations, cardio-vascular diseases and cancers, although not widespread, have been increasing in recent years. This is proof that the pattern of disease associated with the developing countries has begun to appear in our country.

There are many reasons why epidemics, why bacterial, viral and parasitic diseases have not been brought under control. However, the main reason is that the environment is still being very seriously polluted. The transportation and use of human wastes in agriculture in the North and the cultivation of fish in the South are still unsanitary. There is still a

serious shortage of clean water for supply to the people, especially at many places in the mountains and the Mekong Delta. Waste water exceeds the capacity of drainage systems. Garbage is not being handled well in the cities. The populations of disease carrying pests, such as flies, mosquitoes, rats and fleas, have reached dangerous levels. In addition, the habits of drinking untreated water, eating uncooked food, sleeping without mosquito netting and so forth are still widespread at many places, especially in the Mekong Delta and a number of mountain provinces, thereby creating favorable conditions for intestinal tract diseases and malaria to break out and develop into major epidemics.

Many social diseases are still rather widespread. Tuberculosis continues to be a matter of major concern, with a morbidity rate of roughly 1 percent of the population (1976: 1.7 percent). Deserving of attention is the increase in meningitis associated with pulmonary or secondary pulmonary tuberculosis among children in recent years.

Venereal disease has also increased significantly compared to 1976, especially in the major cities.

Goiter was once only seen in the mountains, where the morbidity rate ranges from 20 to 40 percent; however, recent basic investigations have shown that a rather large number of persons in the provinces of the Red River Delta and the Mekong Delta is also afflicted with this disorder.

Dental diseases are still widespread, especially the following two: dental caries, which is found in 57 to 72.9 percent of the people and 49.2 percent of the children between the ages of 10 and 12, and trench mouth and periodontis (38.1 percent).

2. The health of our people, although improved, has been improved slowly.

The average life expectancy of our people today is 63 years of age (62 for men, 66 for women). In 1945, average life expectancy was 38.

There are approximately 6 million elderly persons (men over 60, women over 55) in our country. They constitute 10 percent of the population.

The national death rate is 7.4 percent (one of the lowest in the world).

We are very excited and proud over the achievements and advances mentioned above; however, in the field of our people's health today, there are still very many problems that we must continue to resolve. Basic investigations have shown that as many as 92 percent of the persons examined in many different localities are afflicted with one or more diseases. All together, only about 48 to 60 percent of the population (depending upon the area) are persons who are in good health or only afflicted with a mild disease that does not affect their ability to work. Persons who are seriously ill, are in poor physical condition and whose illness seriously affects their ability to work or makes it impossible for them to work represent 10 to 12 percent of the population.

In particular, a look at the health of cadres, manual workers and civil servants and of mothers and children shows:

Among 1.8 million manual workers and cadres whose health is being observed and managed, the number that meets category 1 health standards has been declining while the number that only meets category 4-5 health standards has been rising sharply. The number of cadres and workers forced into early retirement by disabilities has also been rising.

The health of mothers and children poses many problems that must be resolved.

While the morbidity rate for women's diseases has declined, it is still high (40 percent in the northern provinces and 60 percent in the southern provinces).

As regards the health of children, an investigation of more than 600 newborns showed that 45.8 percent weighed 2.8 kilograms or less (14.3 percent of whom weighed less than 2.5 kilograms). According to health management data compiled by 20 districts and cities and data compiled through basic investigations conducted at 22 different population centers, the health situation of children from the age of infancy to 15 is as follows:

- Good and above average health: 25.2 to 25.8 percent;
- Average health: 51.7 to 52.5 percent;
- Poor health: 20.1 to 22.7 percent.

Among the very basic causes of the situation described above are the facts that many women still do not plan the birth of children, the rate of population growth in our country is still high (approximately 2.3 percent in 1983) and we do not have all that we need to properly care for the young generation. Approximately 1.7 million children are born each year, more than 50 percent of whom are at least the mother's third child. Many women begin bearing children when they are still very young (in 1981, nearly 40,000 mothers were below the age of 19, nearly 500 of whom were below the age of 18 but had already given birth to their second or third child).

Because of this situation, there are about 10 million children between the ages of newborn and six in our country each year (18 percent of the population), 95.9 percent of whom have worms, 10 to 20 percent have rickets and 7.7 to 15.6 percent are malnourished. Childhood diseases, such as gastroenteritis, diphtheria, whooping cough and so forth, impose a heavy burden upon many families each year and account for as much as 34.47 percent of mortality among children.

To correct the situation described above, every locality must adopt comprehensive plans for providing good schools, intensifying efforts to prevent and control epidemics, improving the quality of medical examinations and treatment, promoting planned parenthood, etc. Only in this way is it possible to gradually improve the health of our people and support the requirements involved in building and defending the fatherland.

## II. A Number of Matters Concerning the Socialist Approach to Public Health

On the basis of the principles of socialist public health work combined with the realities of our country's revolution, our party has expressed many views concerning the approach to be taken in the field of public health. In the course of applying the party's views, many matters have been clarified and thoroughly implemented. Here, we will only present some thoughts concerning the following matters:

### 1. The struggle between the two paths within the field of public health.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, as is the case in many other fields of work, the struggle between the two paths on this front is a sharp struggle, especially in the provinces and municipalities of the South, where the economy still consists of five different segments and the developing socialist public health network is constantly being infiltrated by remnants of the old public health system, remnants that assume a wide variety of forms. At present, the most serious manifestations of these remnants are the shortcomings that exist in the relationship between physician and patient, the epitome of which are those persons who have regressed and are using their title as physician to exploit patients in both medical examinations and treatment and the production and sale of medicine.

At many times and places, we have failed to give our best efforts to the struggle between the two paths within the field of public health. As a result, in a number of localities, private public health services have proliferated and the free market in drugs has encroached upon domestically produced drugs, thereby reducing the prestige of the state public health system and corrupting a number of doctors and pharmacists who had been supporters of the revolution for many years by causing them to pursue vulgar material interests, foresake the ideals of the communist and disregard the standards of a people's public health cadre.

At many medical care facilities, negative practices are still evident in all areas of operation, a spirit of responsibility is lacking, bribes are demanded of patients, drugs are being stolen...

This situation has reached the point where a number of public health activities have become ineffective, thereby affecting the confidence the people have in the superiority of socialist public health care and our system.

We cannot allow money to subvert the proper relationship that should exist between physician and patient, cannot allow the free market in drugs to develop.

It has always been the policy of the public health sector that public health cadres not provide private medical examinations or treatment and that the free market in medicine be abolished. Council of Ministers' Resolution 55 also pointed out the need to put a stop to private examinations and treatment and tightly manage the production and distribution of drugs. This is an issue of key importance, an extremely urgent issue in the struggle to determine "who triumphs over whom" within the field of public health. We urge the various

party committee echelons to give this issue their close attention and take immediate, thorough steps to resolve this problem within each locality.

2. Preventive medicine is the fundamental approach in socialist public health care. Only under the socialist system is preventive medicine practiced as fully, as completely as possible. For many years, whenever we talked about preventive medicine, we usually only gave thought to epidemiological hygiene and the activities of the public health sector. Of course, this is a very important health care field; however, under the socialist system, preventive medicine is extremely broad in scope. It consists of a combination of economic, social and political measures taken to prevent illness and infirmity, have a positive impact upon efforts to eliminate those factors that are detrimental to man's health and create for man a life that is well balanced both spiritually and physically. In keeping with this spirit, preventive medicine must be the approach that we take in all areas: the protection and improvement of the environment; the improvement of the eating and housing standards of the people and the conditions under which they study, work and relax; the protection of the health of mothers and children; the prompt detection and treatment of illness and infirmity, etc. This is a very large task and is a responsibility that must be fulfilled by many different sectors and levels under the leadership of the party.

We cannot prevent communicable diseases and improve the physical well being of our citizens when the environment is still being seriously polluted, sewage and garbage are not being handled well, women continue to bear many children, children continue to be malnourished, etc.

As regards the public health sector itself, this approach must be its consistent approach in every area of work. It must propose measures to prevent disease among each segment of the population and within each region of the country. The medical treatment it provides must be characterized by early detection, prompt treatment and the rehabilitation of patients. The training of cadres, scientific research and the production of drugs must fully reflect this approach. Building a widespread public health network within the districts, wards and precincts, a network tasked with providing an education in public health and managing the public health of each citizen, protecting the environment in which each family lives, implementing a good vaccination program, caring for the health of mothers and children, implementing planned parenthood and providing early detection and prompt treatment of disease by simple methods and through the use of locally available medicinal herbs is the most correct way to give expression to the preventive medicine approach within the districts and at basic units, is a measure that will yield very large returns in our country's public health work in the years ahead.

The public health sector has the task of serving as the staff of the party committees and developing specific programs in each area of its work (the prevention and control of environmental pollution, the prevention and control of bacterial diseases, the prevention and control of social diseases, health management programs, the program to combat gastro-enteritis, the potable water program, etc.). The sectors and mass organizations on all levels have the responsibility of coordinating their efforts in this area under the leadership of the party committee.



By thoroughly practicing preventive medicine in a way that is scientific, systematic and planned, we will surely make rapid inroads against the diseases and disorders associated with a developing country.

### 3. Combining traditional folk medicine with modern medical science and building the medical science and public health system of socialist Vietnam.

Before they came in contact with modern medical science, our people, over the course of the thousands of years spent building and defending the country, had developed a medical science of their own that served them well in the prevention and treatment of disease. It is the traditional folk medicine of our nation. The famous herbal physicians in our country's history, such as Tue Tinh, Hai Thuong Lan Ong and so forth, learned from experience and developed their fragments of information into knowledge in the nature of theory. Besides what they left behind in books, highly efficacious prescriptions and methods of treatment have been handed down among the people, prescriptions and methods of treatment that require no medicine at all or are based on our country's very rich sources of drugs. For this reason, the party adopted at an early date the policy of incorporating, enhancing and developing upon the nation's traditional folk medicine and combining it with modern medical science with a view toward building a system of Vietnamese medical science that is both modern and national in keeping with the teaching of the esteemed Uncle Ho.

In recent years, although we have made many efforts and much progress in this field, traditional folk medicine has still not been developed in a manner consistent with the line and views of the party, the medical needs of the people or the capabilities of folk medicine. The measures being taken at many places are still all form and no substance. Many public health cadres have yet to fully adopt this approach in the sector's activities.

To continue to practice this approach more thoroughly, we feel that it is necessary to focus efforts on resolving the following several problems of primary importance:

a) We must continue to promote the effort to incorporate traditional folk medicine. This is work of a very urgent nature. We must successfully incorporate the medical theory of our famous physicians in history and the valuable experiences of the skilled physicians of today as well as the good remedies, folk medicines and simple but efficacious methods of treatment of the various nationalities within our country.

b) We must expand and improve the effort to combine traditional medicine with modern medicine. Recently, we have made some progress and recorded some achievements in this area but the overall level of success and the returns from our efforts remain low. We must eventually combine folk medicine and modern medicine in all fields of disease prevention and treatment, cadre training, scientific research and the production and use of drugs. We must gradually raise traditional folk medicine to the level of modern development; at the same time, we must insure that our public health cadres are skilled in preventing and treating disease by means of both modern medicine and traditional folk medicine.



c) The problem of medicine produced from domestic sources of drugs must be resolved better. This is an extremely important problem, one that is of decisive significance in insuring success in our effort to incorporate traditional folk medicine and combine it with modern medicine. By resolving the problem of providing the drugs needed for traditional medicine, we will also be making a positive contribution to resolving the present shortage of drugs. To our country, this is a matter of urgent economic and social significance.

d) We must improve the elementary and advanced training of medical and pharmaceutical cadres. The colleges, academies and middle schools must re-examine their programs of instruction, plans and the subject matter being taught with a view toward training public health cadres who know how to utilize the efficacious methods of treatment of traditional folk medicine. An effort must be made to quickly train public health cadres for the villages and basic units who are skilled in the use of medicinal herbs and in acupuncture.

e) The public health sector and the Folk Medicine Associations on the various levels must coordinate more closely in this field in order to discover, select and utilize the skilled physicians within the various localities and create favorable conditions for incorporating folk medicine and combining it with modern medicine.

Combining traditional folk medicine with modern medicine is an extremely complex scientific endeavor. Therefore, it is very necessary that this matter be given the concern and close leadership of the various party committee echelons as this is the only way that its proper implementation can be insured.

4. The role of the masses and society in the process of building the socialist public health system.

Public health work is work of a scientific and technical nature as well as work of a very broad mass and social nature. As a result, the specialized, technical activities of the public health sector cannot be separated from the day to day activities of the masses or the various sectors and mass organizations within society.

In recent years, when discussing the role played by the masses in building the public health sector, we have usually only emphasized material contributions made by the masses under the guideline "the state and the people working together." In view of our circumstances, it is correct to raise the matter in this way. In many localities, as a result of knowing how to successfully mobilize contributions by the people, we have managed to build some rather good material bases for the public health sector. However, another issue of importance is that the socialist public health network demands that every member of society possess the necessary knowledge of health care so that everyone can consciously and actively participate in public health work, because, this issue is related to each and every one of us, to everyone's daily activities and not only has an impact upon one's own health, but also upon the health of the people around us.

In public health work, the movement among the masses to care for their own health and the health of the social community is a factor of very decisive importance.

On the other hand, public health work is related to all sectors of the state and all mass organizations. The public health sector cannot perform its task well if the related sectors do not fully recognize their responsibility and actively participate in protecting and improving the environment, which cannot be achieved if agriculture does not change the practices involved in the fertilization and irrigation of fields and the cultivation of fish, the industrial sectors do not find good solutions to the problems of industrial waste (waste water, dust, toxic gases, etc.), forestry does not restore the forests that have been destroyed, etc. Good hospital services cannot be provided if there is a shortage of funds for inpatients, outpatients and examination clinics, if there is a shortage of electricity, water, soap, blankets, mosquito nets, mats, grain, food and so forth. All of these are necessary conditions that the public health sector cannot provide on its own. In order to gradually meet the need for medicine, the sector must also receive contributions from many other sectors in the form of energy and secondary materials (such as glass, sugar, alcohol, wood, paper, etc.).

In summary, in a field as large as this one, the public health sector can only serve as the staff of the party committees and governments on the various levels concerning the knowledge that every citizen, every sector and mass organization must possess and practice. The various party committee echelons and levels of government must organize and lead the propaganda and educational effort to show each person and sector what their responsibility is so that they closely coordinate with the public health sector and exercise ownership together. Only by developing upon the collective ownership role played by the masses and the sectors in this way is it possible to establish stable conditions for effectively resolving the basic problems being faced now, such as protecting and cleaning up the environment, improving the quality of medical treatment, producing and distributing drugs, reducing the rate of population growth to a rational level and so forth, as set forth in the resolution of the 5th Congress.

[5 February 85, pp 2, 7]

[Text] III. Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Guidelines for Public Health Work in the Years Ahead

1. Some observations on public health work in recent years.

Under the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, the public health sector has overcome many difficulties in order to detect, stop and combat epidemics, provide medical examinations and treatment, develop pharmaceuticals, produce and distribute drugs, step up the planned parenthood campaign, strengthen the public health network, especially the lines on the district and village levels, participate in export activities and assist the public health sectors of Laos, Cambodia and a number of other developing countries. Many efforts have been made to provide cadres with elementary and supplementary training; to propose and implement new regulations and policies; to guide the emulation

movement and establish advanced model units; to conduct routine inspections, promptly correct mistakes and resolve difficulties in many localities and basic units. The network of advanced public health units (villages, subwards, districts, precincts, wards, cities, hospitals, pharmacies, public health schools and so forth) has continued to be expanded.

These accomplishments have been due to the line and policies of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, to the leadership, guidance and concern of the various party committee echelons and the people's committees on the various levels. As a result, public health cadres and personnel have been motivated to make every effort to perform the task assigned to them and the masses have been mobilized to actively participate in many health care activities within each locality and basic unit.

Since the 5th Congress of the Party, many party committees and people's committees on the local level have promulgated many directives and resolutions concerning public health work, in general, or a specific aspect of public health work. These directives and resolutions have helped public health cadres gain a deeper understanding of the party's line and views concerning public health work; at the same time, they give direction to each public health activity within the localities. These directives and resolutions also reflect guidance provided by the Department of Science and Education of the Party Central Committee and the very important staff work performed by the science and education sections of the provincial, municipal and special zone party committees.

We are very happy that the provincial, municipal and special zone party committees have concerned themselves with providing the leadership needed to develop public health work in the localities. Many localities have made extremely important contributions and progress. Consider the following few typical examples:

Ha Nam Ninh is a province that has held the rotating banner of the Council of Ministers for 3 consecutive years and is the country's leader in public health work. The country now has 11 districts that have completed the "five thorough jobs." Three of these districts are in Ha Nam Ninh and the province is now working to add one or two more districts to this list in the immediate future.

Quang Nam-Da Nang, a newly liberated province, has developed its public health services in a relatively comprehensive manner and now has a relatively large corps of cadres and a comparatively strong network and system of organizations and quickly launched the "five thorough jobs" movement, achieving results on a par with those achieved in the northern provinces.

Tien Giang, a province in the Nam Bo Delta, has made rapid progress and is now carrying out a plan to eventually complete the construction of sanitation projects throughout the province, do away with the privies that stand along the rivers, canals and fish ponds and improve the environment.

Vinh Phu and Ha Bac, provinces that have a tradition of maintaining good disease prevention sanitation, are working to complete the three sanitation projects on a province-wide scale.

The leaders in the planned parenthood campaign are Ho Chi Minh City, Haiphong, Hanoi and the provinces of Thai Binh and Quang Nam-Da Nang.

Binh Tri Thien, a province that has been hit hard by one natural disaster after another over a period of many years, has taken positive steps to guard against and combat natural disasters by mobilizing large numbers of local public health cadres to devote their efforts to providing emergency medical care, providing assistance in childbirth and preventing and controlling epidemics, thereby quickly overcoming the aftermath of typhoons and flooding.

Cuu Long Province, which has rapidly developed the production of drugs from local raw materials, is meeting the common drug needs of the people well, managing the drug market well and not allowing it to be controlled by the free market.

The provinces of Long An and An Giang, which have achieved much success in their efforts to strengthen and build the public health sector, have mobilized the people to build village and district public health facilities under the guideline "the state and the people working together."

The northern border provinces have mostly coordinated civilian and military medical forces in order to provide good combat support.

The provinces of the Central Highlands have also made much progress and established a number of relatively good model units.

In summary, in recent years, all localities have made efforts and innovations, have achieved success in overcoming their difficulties and promoting public health activities within the locality.

Besides the achievements and progress mentioned above, public health work is still marked by a rather large number of shortcomings and weaknesses.

1. As is the case in many other fields of work, we are not fully aware of the intense nature of the struggle between the two paths in the period of transition or of the cunning schemes being employed by the enemy in the field of public health in their wide-ranging war of sabotage. Therefore, appropriate importance has not been attached to mounting a widespread propaganda and educational effort to provide information on the line and views of the party concerning public health work. The political and ideological education of public health cadres and personnel is being given light attention and even neglected, as a result of which their morale and attitude toward patients have declined and negative phenomena have developed in examinations, medical treatment and the production and distribution of drugs at many places. Within some localities, appropriate attention is not being given to resolving the problem of private public health activities. The above situation has affected the quality of public health work as well as the confidence that the people have in this field of the party's work.

2. The disease prevention hygiene movement has been developing slowly. Unsanitary ways of living have not been corrected, the environment has not been improved and, at some places, especially in the cities and industrial

zones, the environment is deteriorating more with each passing day. In this situation, prolonged epidemics have occurred in a number of localities. And, we have generally had to deal with epidemics in a passive manner, which has had a considerable effect upon labor and the movement of materials and even had adverse political effects at some times and places. This is an exceedingly important and complex problem, one that can only be resolved through the close coordination of many different sectors with the public health sector under the leadership and guidance of the various party committee echelons and levels of government.

3. Very many difficulties are still being encountered with regard to medical examinations and medical treatment. Negative practices persist at many examination and treatment facilities. Attention is not being given to developing folk medicine in a manner consistent with the medical care requirements of the people and the capabilities of traditional medicine. Many localities have not taken practical or concrete steps to incorporate folk medicine and combine it with modern medicine and have not concerned themselves with harvesting, processing and supplying pharmaceuticals for folk medicine. Appropriate attention is also not being given to training cadres, building the folk medicine network and adopting policies for the development of folk medicine.

4. Our country's population growth rate is still high (2.3 percent). Each year, about 1.7 million children are born, a figure that is very much out of balance with economic and social development. At present, there are still 35 provinces and municipalities in which the rate of population growth remains somewhere between 2 and 3 percent. The immediate causes of this situation are the following: our country's population is relatively young (children less than 15 years of age make up 42 percent of the population; in 1983, women of child bearing age, that is, from 19 to 45 years of age, numbered 11.6 million). The number of married couples of child bearing age who practice birth control is still very low (only 22.5 percent). Bearing children early in life, bearing children close together and bearing many children are still rather widespread practices (of the total number of women who give birth, 50 percent are giving birth to at least their third child).

In the face of this situation, there are still many localities, sectors and basic units that are not sufficiently aware of the revolutionary significance and humane nature of the population policy and planned parenthood, consequently, they have not given the planned parenthood campaign their concern or direct attention, are not truly leading and guiding this campaign and have not closely coordinated their leadership and guidance of population growth with their leadership and guidance of socio-economic development. Many cadres, party members, Youth Union members and members of the Women's Union, including leaders on the various levels, are still not setting good examples from the standpoint of planned parenthood. Also for these reasons, we have been unable to mobilize a combined force and unable to make well coordinated use of the various measures at our disposal (propaganda-education, scientific-technical, administrative and economic) to support the campaign.

5. At a time when our ability to import drugs from foreign countries has been steadily declining, we have not been tightly managing the production,

distribution or use of drugs, as a result of which the quality of medicine has declined and medicine has become lost and not reached the hands of patients. The free market in medicine is developing and profiteering, hoarding, black marketing and the manufacture of fake drugs have not been stopped. Because of many different difficulties, the antibiotics and chemical pharmaceutical industry is being built slowly. The cultivation of medicinal herbs is not being given appropriate attention and is not well planned. The returns from the use of many medicinal herb gardens in the villages are still very low.

6. The public health network on the district level, especially on the village level, is encountering major difficulties because we have not provided the corps of cadres with good elementary and advanced training, have not provided village public health cadres with adequate living conditions and have not created the conditions that they need to go about their work with peace of mind. Although the state has promulgated various documents that establish benefits for village public health personnel, such as Council of Ministers' Decision number 11, Joint Ministry of Public Health-Ministry of Agriculture-Ministry of Food Circular Number 33 and Joint Ministry of Public Health-Ministry of Finance Circular Number 17, many localities have not implemented them correctly. Also on the district level, numerous district hospitals are encountering difficulties because of a shortage of funds (they are receiving only 60 to 70 percent of their funding), consequently, they do not have money to buy drugs or supplies for use in medical examinations and treatment and cannot repair their dilapidated buildings.

The bureaucratic, subsidization style of management within the public health sector is still widely prevalent, especially within medical examination and treatment units. Hospitals continue to operate in the same old way and never stop to calculate economic efficiency. We feel that it is necessary to quickly correct this situation by conducting studies for the purposes of establishing funding and labor force levels, implementing a bonus system and a system of working in pairs within hospitals, researching the possibility of charging certain patients hospital fees and instituting accounting procedures at the basic production units within the sector as well as within the production jobs performed within hospitals.

2. The guidelines for public health work in the years ahead.

Below, we have presented some preliminary thoughts concerning a number of main guidelines. Specifically:

--We must promote a widespread patriotic hygiene movement in all localities of the country, especially within the movement to build and improve sanitation projects, the "three exterminations" movement (exterminate flies, exterminate mosquitoes, exterminate rats) and the "three cleans" movement (clean food, clean water, clean living conditions). We must keep a close watch on epidemics and quickly extinguish epidemics as soon as they break out so that they do not spread or become prolonged. Efforts must be made to reduce the morbidity and mortality rates associated with malaria and bacterial diseases.



--We must improve the quality of all aspects of public health work, especially medical examinations, medical treatment and emergency care. Efforts must be made to reduce the morbidity rate associated with social diseases.

--We must promote the incorporation of traditional folk medicine, build the folk medicine network, develop the use of methods of treatment that do not involve the use of drugs and improve the program of folk medicine study at public health cadre training schools. Efforts must be made to quickly provide each village with one cadre who is skilled in the use of medicinal herbs and acupuncture.

--We must try to meet the medicine needs of the people, promote the cultivation and use of medicinal herbs within the villages and begin the production of pharmaceutical chemicals and antibiotics.

--We must promote planned parenthood and make an effort to reduce the rate of population growth to a rational level throughout the country.

--Importance must be attached to the quality of the "five thorough jobs" movement in both the countryside and the cities. We must build and strengthen the public health network, with primary emphasis upon strengthening this network, especially within the districts and at basic units.

--On the basis of periodically reviewing our experiences, we must continue to expand the "five thorough jobs" movement within the districts, wards and precincts.

In the years ahead, we feel that it is necessary to focus efforts on such key areas as the mountains, the Central Highlands, the Mekong Delta and industrial crop growing areas, with primary emphasis on building the public health network within the key districts, beginning with the 42 key districts of the central and local levels, and on serving children, women, cadres, manual workers and civil servants, especially those within hazardous, strenuous occupations.

#### IV. A Number of Proposals

To insure the party's leadership of public health work, we first propose that the various party committee echelons concern themselves with the following several matters of general importance:

1. Gaining a thorough understanding of the line and views of the party so that they can set guidelines and targets, decide policies and measures and plan the development of public health services within the locality;
2. Concerning themselves with building the locality's corps of public health cadres, especially politically, ideologically and in terms of their living conditions;
3. Appointing the right persons as key cadres, especially leadership and management cadres and specialized technical cadres at the head of the sector on the provincial and district levels; planning the elementary training,

utilization and advanced training of cadres in exact accordance with the party's cadre policy;

4. Concerning themselves with building the party and building the mass organizations throughout the public health sector, especially at treatment and epidemic prevention facilities, cadre training facilities and basic units that produce and distribute drugs;

5. Regularly inspecting the work of the public health sector, periodically receiving reports on public health and promptly resolving major problems that arise within the field of public health in the locality.

6. Guiding the various sectors and mass organizations, especially the Red Cross and the Folk Medicine Association, in closely coordinating with the public health sector in the performance of public health work within the locality.

In the immediate future, between now and the 6th National Congress of the Party, we suggest that all party committees familiarize themselves with and closely lead the following tasks of primary importance:

1. Successfully launching patriotic hygiene movements to protect and gradually clean up the environment and making inroads against the various diseases and disorders, especially epidemics and bacterial diseases:

Protecting and gradually cleaning up the environment while improving the quality and effectiveness of our efforts to prevent and combat epidemics are the first task set by the 5th National Congress in the field of public health. To perform these jobs well, we first suggest that the concerned party committees assign the related sectors the task of properly fulfilling their function of protecting the environment. On the other hand, it is necessary to mount a widespread propaganda and educational effort to provide the people with basic knowledge concerning disease prevention hygiene, the prevention and control of epidemics and environmental protection, including common medical knowledge that every citizen must apply. On the basis of performing good propaganda and educational work, we must continue mobilizing the people to build, improve and utilize sanitation projects in a manner consistent with the conditions that exist within each area with a view toward effectively resolving the problems of sewage, water and garbage. At the same time, the masses can, depending upon the situation within each locality, be mobilized to participate in patriotic hygiene movements designed to clean up and protect the environment and establish a civilized way of life. Every citizen must be made fully aware of the significance and impact of vaccination programs. The people must be encouraged to actively comply with the vaccination requirements of the public health sector. Measures must be adopted to provide for routine inspections and harsh action in cases involving violations of sanitation regulations.

In order for it to properly serve as the staff of the party committees in the maintenance and development of movements and insure that specialized, technical measures are implemented well, it is necessary to strengthen the



epidemic prevention hygiene system in every respect and insure that these organizations operate effectively.

## 2. Maintaining and improving the quality of medical examinations and treatment.

To constantly improve the quality of medical examinations and treatment, the public health sector has issued specific regulations concerning examination clinics and hospitals. Here, we are only suggesting that the various party committee echelons concern themselves with the following several matters:

--Adopting policies and plans for continuing to improve and enlarge examination and treatment facilities (including folk medicine facilities and the public health stations on the basic level) while insuring that these facilities are adequately funded, receive the necessary supplies and have the other conditions that the public health sector cannot provide on its own.

--Adopting measures and policies that develop the role played by traditional folk medicine and the practioners of folk medicine in medical examinations and treatment.

--Providing stronger leadership of the political and ideological education of the corps of public health cadres at basic medical examination and treatment units; doing a better job of building the party, the Trade Union and the Communist Youth Union; and insuring that the corps of public health cadres and personnel always has a clear understanding of its glorious task and steadfastly maintains and cultivates the virtues of the socialist physician.

## 3. Promoting the planned parenthood campaign.

To properly comply with the resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party as regards the population growth issue, it is necessary to bring about a strong and widespread change in the immediate future, from the various party committee echelons to the different levels of government and the mass organizations, in the leadership and guidance of the planned parenthood campaign. Well coordinated use must be made of the various measures at our disposal and the combined forces of all sectors and mass organizations must be mobilized to participate in the campaign. To achieve this end, it is necessary to resolve the following several problems:

--We must intensify our propaganda and educational efforts concerning the population issue and planned parenthood, correct backward attitudes and habits and launch a widespread movement among the masses to participate in this campaign. Beginning now, every married couple must make an effort to have no more than two children; families that already have two children or more must be determined to not have any more children. We must teach cadres and party members to truly set a good example with regard to planned parenthood.

--In their socio-economic development plans, the various localities must assign population growth norms to each district, ward, precinct, village and subward and manage the number of births each year as closely as they manage economic norms.

--Depending upon their specific situation, the localities must promulgate new regulations and policies or supplement those that exist with a view toward creating favorable conditions for the planned parenthood campaign.

--The provinces and municipalities must soon establish population and planned parenthood committees (if they have not already done so), strengthen the planned parenthood campaign sections on the district and basic levels and insure that these organizations conduct truly effective activities.

--Attention must be given to guiding the public health sector in strengthening and developing the basic public health network, in general, especially the network of units and cadres engaged in planned parenthood work on the various levels and lines. We must provide the guidance needed to establish close coordination between the public health sector and the other sectors and the mass organizations in this campaign.

#### 4. Resolving the medicine problem well.

In recent years, the shortage of medicine has been extremely acute at many places. In the years ahead, if we simply rely upon the sources of the central level, it will be impossible to satisfy the medicine needs of the people. Therefore, every locality must develop each of its potentials and contribute along with the central level to gradually eliminating the present shortage of medicine.

Most importantly, every locality must adopt a plan for strongly developing the cultivation of medicinal plants on all three lines, the provincial, district and village lines, and establish a number of areas devoted to the production of these plants; at the same time, the movement to grow and use medicinal herbs must be promoted within the villages. Plans must be adopted for taking the initiative in producing the common drugs needed by the locality and providing an increasingly large supply of raw materials to the central enterprises, thereby making increasingly large contributions to the exportation of products to earn foreign currency with which to import antibiotics, chemicals used in testing and public health implements that the Ministry of Public Health is not yet able to supply to the public health facilities of the localities.

We must provide even better management within the pharmaceutical field, in every area from production to the distribution and use of drugs, to insure that drugs are of high quality, are efficacious, insure that the distribution and use of drugs are convenient, sensible and economical and quickly correct the problem of drugs becoming spoiled and lost and eradicate the free market in drugs.

5. We must continue to strengthen and expand the public health network, especially on the district, ward, precinct, village and subward lines.

Within socialist society, every citizen has the right to health care. Therefore, the public health network, especially the district, ward, precinct and basic lines within this network, must continue to be strengthened and expanded, primarily strengthened, to insure that all potentials that exist in

terms of cadres and material bases are fully developed and that this network is eventually fully capable of providing good health care to the masses beginning on the basic level.

To perform this task well, we suggest that the various party committee echelons concern themselves with the following several matters:

--Planning the network's organization; adopting plans for training, assigning and utilizing management cadres and specialized public health cadres, including cadres who practice folk medicine; and, at the same time, closely guiding the recruiting of students for colleges in accordance with the district priority list in order to train college educated doctors and pharmacists for the districts.

--Insuring the full implementation of the policies that have been promulgated by the state concerning public health cadres, especially village public health cadres, public health cadres who work in the mountains, on the islands or in the new economic zones and roving cadres who work in the field of epidemiological hygiene and malaria control; giving attention to improving the living conditions of public health cadres and creating the conditions needed for them to go about their work with peace of mind.

--Adopting plans, under the guideline of "coordinating the state and the people," for continuing to mobilize the people to build and repair material bases for public health facilities.

6. Maintaining and properly leading the campaign to perform the "five thorough jobs" in public health work.

On the basis of the instructions received from the Ministry of Public Health, every locality must establish specific requirements concerning these five jobs, requirements that are consistent with the locality, and continue to guide the efforts to build and increase the number of advanced model units. With the district as their base, the localities must provide the leadership needed to thoroughly perform each job and eventually complete many jobs and gradually improve the quality of and the returns from the "five thorough jobs" movement.

7. Conducting a good review of public health work in the recent past and formulating plans for public health work in the years ahead, beginning with the locality's 1986-1990 Five Year Plan

To help the party committees lead public health work, in general, and solve the problems being faced, we suggest that the science and education sections or the propaganda and education sections on the various levels include persons who are deeply involved in this field of work. We are prepared to provide cadres for this purpose as required by the party committees.

Dear comrades,

Ever since the victory of the August Revolution, our party has had the tradition of leading public health work. The public health sector has had the

tradition of always following the leadership of the various party committee echelons.

We are very glad that this conference is being held and feel confident that following this conference, the leadership provided in the field of science and education, in general, and public health work, in particular, by the various party committee echelons will be stronger, as a result of which greater progress and achievements will be recorded in all areas of science and education, including public health work.

I wish your conference fine success.

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CSO: 4209/272

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

HANOI MASS PROSELYTIZING ACTIVITIES INTENSIFIED

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 13 Feb 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] On 12 February, the Civil Proselytizing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee held a conference to review the mass proselytizing activities of the party organization in 1984 and to set forth tasks for 1985. Present at the conference were Tran Quoc Hoan, member of the party Central Committee and director of the Central Civil Proselytizing Department; Vu Anh Tuan, member of the Standing Committee and Civil Proselytizing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee; and representatives of various boards, sectors and mass organizations in the municipality, wards, districts and city.

Concerning the state of task implementation, the conference noted that ever since the Ninth Congress of the Municipal Party Organization, party committees at all echelons have effected definite changes in proselytizing the masses. The Municipal Party Committee has designated three members of its standing committee to take charge of civil proselytizing. In wards, districts and the city, 6 deputy secretaries and 10 members of standing committees have assumed responsibility for civil proselytizing; the same thing has been done in villages and subwards. The Municipal Party Committee has attentively led the administration to implement the mass policy of the party which is aimed at developing the people's collective ownership in socioeconomic management. As a result, over the past year, the capital city people have demonstrated their revolutionary offensive spirit in the fields of production, security maintenance, national defense and so forth.

However, the tasks done have not yet met the requirements of this mission. The lack of uniform coordination between the various committees of the party, administration and Civil Proselytizing Department has given rise to shortcomings in organization and implementation. Many party members have not yet considered mass proselytizing important. Some leading party cadres have rarely contacted the masses and heard their opinion and have thus failed to understand and quickly resolve their legitimate aspirations. The way people's control committees receive the people and carry out activities is still burdened with formalism.

Because of their failure to clearly realize and respect the important role of mass organizations, certain administrative cadres at various levels have been unable to coordinate closely with them and to create favorable conditions for their activities.

In 1985, the party task of proselytizing the masses in the municipality will focus on the following points:

--Leading all committees, boards, sectors, mass organizations and chapters to conduct researches, debates and reviews according to Directive No 53 of the party Central Committee Secretariat and to Plan No 15 of the Municipal Party Committee Standing Committee on guidance for task execution.

--Holding meetings of key cadres and the masses at the grassroots level.

--Controlling the implementation of the party policies on religion, nationalities and Chinese residents.

--Formulating and guiding a working method for civil proselytizing committees in wards, districts and the city and defining their duties, functions and power.

--Drawing up pilot projects on the systematization and legalization of the laboring people's right to collective ownership.

Some representatives of ward party committees and of the Women's and Youth Unions, Collectivized Peasants' Association and Fatherland Front contributed their views on mass proselytizing guidelines.

In his address to the conference, Tran Quoc Hoan stressed the importance of mass proselytizing, saying that the working method should be to build up the movement from the grassroots and to exert a realistic and profound effect.

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CSO: 4209/315

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TOBACCO MANAGEMENT EDICT

OW230528 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 21 Apr 85

[Text] The Council of Ministers recently issued a resolution on unified state management of tobacco production and trade. The Council of Ministers decided that the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Planning Commission, and the people's committees of various provinces and cities, which can produce tobacco, should build a unified program for developing tobacco production nationwide.

The center has to assume unified management of cigarette processing and exploration. Localities are responsible for organizing the cultivation, collection and purchase of tobacco, for ensuring the supply of raw materials for the processing factories, which are under central unified management, and for banning all state-run economic units and organizations outside the tobacco production sector, and all collectives and individuals from collecting or purchasing raw materials and manufacturing cigarettes.

To comply with the requirements for unified management of tobacco production and trade, and Council of Ministers decided to establish the Vietnam Federation of Tobacco Enterprises, on the basis of combining tobacco complexes I and II of the Ministry of Food Industry, and the state-run tobacco enterprises, which are now under the management of localities.

The Federation of Tobacco Enterprises serves as a trading organization and an economic and technical management organ of the tobacco production sector on a national scale, and is placed under the direct guidance of the Ministry of Food Industry.

CSO: 4209/357

JPRS-SEA-85-080  
21 May 1985

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

BRIEFS

VPA ASSISTS ELECTION WORK--The 8th Chemical Force Group has assigned its cadres and personnel to various districts and provinces to help the local authorities making preparations for the coming people's council elections. They organized courses to study rules and regulations of the elections and improved tasks on guarding and maintaining peace and order, especially at newly established voting areas. [Summary] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2330 GMT 17 Apr 85 BK]

CSO: 4209/357



NEW POLICY ON SAVINGS DEPOSITS PROMULGATED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 12 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] In pursuance of Decree No 178-HDBT of 25 December 1984 on modified interest rates for savings deposits and for loan certificates of the State Bank and credit cooperatives, the bank recently promulgated the following specific policies:

--For savings which bear interest and are deposited for an unlimited period of time, the interest rate is 24 percent per annum (2 percent per month). Interest is calculated on a daily basis and will be accrued to the principal at the end of the year. At his request, a depositor may draw a monthly interest according to the overall regulations of the State Bank. By 1 January 1985, all the remaining savings books for unlimited-time deposits that (formerly) earned an interest and bonus are now transferred to the category of interest-earning unlimited-time deposits but do not have to be exchanged for new books and are entitled to the interest fixed by the present regulations.

--Savings which are deposited for a fixed period of time--3 to less than 5 years--earn an interest of 30 percent per annum, that is, 2.5 percent per month while those deposited for 5 years or more earn an interest of 36 percent per annum, that is, 3 percent per month.

The (former) interest earning savings bonds of fixed denominations of 200, 500 and 1,000 dong are now entitled to interest rates proportional to the deposit time as mentioned above (yearly interest of 24 percent for a deposit time of less than 3 years).

--With regard to the category of savings bonds of 200-, 500- and 1,000-dong denominations which earn interest and bonus, they may or may not bear [The owners'] names (if no name is mentioned, the bank will not acknowledge receipt of any notice of loss). The yearly interest is 24 percent including 12 percent used to pay dividends and another 12 percent used to pay lottery prizes.

Reckoned on the actual period of time during which money has been deposited, interest will be paid once the savings account is settled. A lottery will be drawn monthly to pay bonuses to depositors. Only the savings bonds reaching

full maturity in 30 or 31 days of each month and those exceeding this period by the 30th or 31st day of each month will be allowed to participate in the lottery and entitled to prizes. If the exact number of days in each month is unfulfilled, the interest will be calculated at the rate fixed by regulations. There will be 115 prizes for every 10,000 interest-bonus earning savings bonds of 200-, 500- and 1,000-dong denominations.

The number and values of prizes to be awarded to interest-bonus earning bonds of 200-dong denomination are as follows: 1 first prize of 6,000 dong, 2 incentive prizes of 200 dong each, 2 second prizes of 800 dong each, 10 third prizes of 200 dong each and 100 fourth prizes of 60 dong each.

Interest-bonus earning savings bonds of 500-dong denominations are entitled to prizes that are 2.5 times greater than those awarded to the 200-dong denomination bonds.

Interest-bonus earning savings bonds of 1,000-dong denomination are entitled to prizes that are 5 times greater than those awarded to the 200-dong denomination bonds.

The 200-dong denomination savings bonds that were (formerly) entitled to a bonus are now subjected to the regulations on interest-bonus earning savings bonds of 200-dong denomination.

All the current regulations on savings deposits apply the new interest rates and are effective as of 1 January 1985.

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CSO: 4209/315

ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE AND FINANCE

SLAUGHTER TAX EVASION REVEALED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 12 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by Yen Bang and Le Thong, of Hanoi, in "Readers' Column": "Slack Collection of Slaughter Tax"]

[Text] For more than a month, the price of pork in the Hanoi free market has soared partly because of a reduced number of fat hogs available after the Tet holidays and also because of a reduction in the quantity of pork normally sold by state stores. After sustaining losses due to their managerial and commercial incompetence, many marketing cooperatives at the subward level which deal in pork have finally been obliged to shift to the contractual method by paying a daily commission to pork dealers. This management method has enabled many pork dealers to thrive because as private traders they do not have to pay a heavy slaughter tax. Since these pork dealers do not sit at the previously indicated places to sell their goods, the market management board has lost another opportunity to collect the market tax. The loss of both slaughter and market taxes has amounted to 70 and 95 percent respectively, not to mention the fact that the average slaughter tax of 300 dong levied on each slaughtered hog is too low compared with the current price index.

We would suggest that while the state commercial sector and subward and village marketing cooperatives should try to expand their commercial activities, the tax collection and market management sectors should control private pork and beef dealers more strictly and compel them to post up a price list and sell meat exactly at such prices. The tax collection sector should exercise guidance, control the sale price of pork and prevent pork dealers from carrying out activities as they please.

The state has been unable to levy a large amount of slaughter tax on most of the pork sold in the free market in various cities and towns. We are cadres and manual and office workers whose families live in multistory collective buildings and many of our families have been raising hogs. Usually, the hogs' grunt is heard at 4 and 5 am when it is still dark. This is the moment when motorcycle, bicycle and tricycle riders come to this residential area clandestinely to slaughter hogs and take the dressed meat to markets for sale. However, nobody is present there to collect the slaughter tax.

In our opinion, the financial sector should devise effective measures to collect the slaughter tax. For example, it is advisable to set aside a sum of money to reward agents who set out at dawn to collect the slaughter tax and the tax collection areas assigned to tax collectors should be narrowed down to enable them to carry out activities efficiently, evenly and extensively. Cases of connivance between both sides /pork dealers and tax collectors/ with the objective of evading tax should be dealt with severely.

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AGRICULTURE

BRIEFS

AN GIANG WINTER-SPRING RICE--An Giang Province has planted 100,000 hectares of winter-spring rice. The province is launching a campaign to procure 240,000 metric tons of grain during the 1984-85 winter-spring crop. From 15 March to 5 April, the province procured 67,000 metric tons of paddy, achieving 28 percent of its plan norm, or three fold more than the corresponding period last year. [Summary] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 18 Apr 85 BK]

BEN TRE GRAIN PROCUREMENT--By the end of this year's 1st quarter, Ben Tre Province had procured and delivered to state granaries over 25,000 metric tons of grain for the 10th-month crop season, fulfilling 50 percent of the legal grain procurement quota set for 1985 and scoring last year. Ben Tre provincial capital and Ba Tri District overfulfilled their legal grain procurement quotas by 9-29 percent. [Excerpt] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 21 Apr 85 BK]

HA BAC COOPERATIVES--To date, Ha Bac Province has established 100 progressive agricultural cooperatives, representing 12.5 percent of the total cooperatives in the province, or an increase of 3.7 percent compared with last year. Thuan Thanh and Lang Giang Districts and Bac Giang and Bac Ninh cities took the lead in building strong and progressive cooperatives. [Summary] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 18 Apr 85 BK]

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## HEAVY INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION

### INCREASED PRODUCTION OF CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS PLANNED

Hanoi TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC in Vietnamese Jan 85 pp 27-29

[Article by Ngo Van Minh: "Targetted Development of Construction Materials to the Year 2000"]

[Text] [Editorial note by TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC:] The author outlines the development of the construction materials industry over the past 20 years and foresees its development through the year 1985. The figures given show that all the three norms for average per capita output, labor productivity and efficient use of fixed assets are still very low. The main reason is the failure to achieve homogeneous equilibrium between various sectors and in producing and circulating construction materials, the failure of organization and management to catch up with development requirements, the failure to take full advantage of science and technique and the failure to make appropriate investments. After analyzing the actual state of development of the construction materials industry, the author proposes a strategy to develop this sector up to the year 2000, indicating specific targets and orientations and dealing with different kinds of construction materials, development rate, dissemination of production installations and organizational measures designed to implement the strategy. [End of Editorial Note]

For more than 20 years, the construction materials industry has taken noteworthy steps to develop. Compared with 1960, the production of cement in 1983 increased 2.3-fold, that of bricks 3.2-fold, that of tiles 3.9-fold, that of lime 4.5-fold and that of building stone 2.3-fold; the total value of construction materials produced became 4.7 times greater.

However, the present development rate of construction materials does not yet meet the overall requirements of capital construction including industrial and civil construction.

#### I. Situation and Capabilities of the Construction Materials Industry by 1985

It is envisaged that by [The end of] 1985, the potential of the construction materials industry will be as follows:

1. The number of construction material producing installations managed by the state sector will reach 943 including 57 cement production installations of which 4 will be equipped with rotary kilns and 53 with cupola furnaces.

There will be 423 brick and tile production installations (of which 226 will have each a yearly output of 7 million pieces or more).

There will be 114 stone extracting installations (of which 13 will have each a yearly output of 200,000 cubic meters or more).

There will be 59 lime production installations.

There will be 30 installations to extract sand and pebbles.

There will be seven installations to produce precast concrete forms.

There will be 15 installations to saw construction lumber and 236 others to produce other types of construction material.

2. As for production capacity (reckoning from design output), there will be a yearly output of 3.75 million tons of cement, 5.3 billion bricks and tiles, 1.1 million tons of construction lime, 520 tons of sanitary porcelain, 400,000 sq meters of construction glass, 312,600 cubic meters of precast concrete (excluding polygon stations) and 70,000 cubic meters of construction lumber and 840,000 sq meters of doors.

3. In 1985, the envisaged volume of construction materials to be produced yearly will be as follows:

--From 1.9 to 2.1 million tons of cement (50 to 56 percent of design output); 2.7 billion bricks and tiles (51 percent of design output); 7.2 million cubic meters of construction stone (48 percent of design output); 416 tons of sanitary porcelain (80 percent of design output); 900 tons of construction glass (45 percent of design output) and 220,000 cubic meters of precast concrete (70 percent of design output).

4. To produce construction materials, there will be about 254,800 laborers including 93,800 employed in industry and 161,000 employed in small industry and handicrafts.

5. The fixed asset value may reach 9,645 million dong (on the basis of 1982 prices) including 6,295 million dong belonging to the centrally run industry. The fixed assets of the cement sector alone amounts to more than 5,000 million dong.

6. Though abundant and variegated, the natural resources used to produce construction materials have not yet been fully explored and assessed. By the end of 1983, the total reserve of some known kinds of minerals in Vietnam that are used to produce construction materials amounted to over 10 billion cubic meters of building stone, over 8 billion tons of lime (used to produce cement), over 1.5 billion tons of clay used to produce cement, over 150 million tons of sand used to produce glass and over 350 million tons of kaolin.

From the above-mentioned real situation, we can make the following observations:

1. The average per capita output is still low: only 35 kg of cement, 37 bricks, 9 tiles, 0.12 cubic meter of stone and so on. (In particular, our cement output is only one-third of that in Mongolia--a country with the lowest average per capita output of all in the socialist camp--and represents only one-twentyfirst of the GDR's.) There are only few varieties of construction materials which are still incongruous and of poor quality.

2. The use coefficient of construction materials is still too low--only 0.45 in 1983--and will certainly not be raised substantially in 1985.

3. Labor productivity is still too low. Reckoned in terms of product, the yearly per capita output is only 124 tons of cement or 15,000 bricks or 300 cubic meters of extracted stone. (In the CEMA countries, the average labor productivity is much higher: From 1,800 to 2,000 tons of cement per capita per annum or 1 million bricks per capita per annum or 1,400 cubic meters of stone per capita per annum.)

The aforesaid limitations may have been caused by:

1. The failure to achieve homogeneous equilibrium among various sectors in producing, circulating and distributing construction materials: Electricity and coal supplies have met only 30 and 40 percent respectively of the needs of the construction materials industry, plus numerous difficulties with communications and transportation, the almost total absence of special transport equipment, the serious shortage of spare parts and the wornout condition and incongruity of storehouses, piers, storage fields and infrastructural installations.

2. The organizational and managerial failure to catch up with the sector's need for development and the failure to formulate an industrial production method.

3. The failure to make the most of science and technique, to effectively use the product of scientific and technical labor and to fully and effectively conduct the formulation of projects and plans; and

4. The failure to adequately prepare for investments and to pay due attention to the problem of intensive investments and of investing to maintain production.

## II. Targetted Development

In view of the actual situation of the construction materials industry as mentioned above, we visualize the possible development of this industry to the year 2000 as follows:

1. Strategic target: the first step will be to meet the quantitative, qualitative and variegated need for construction materials to be used in building material and technical bases for socialism; it is necessary to create new sources of export goods for the benefit of national economy and to prepare stable prerequisites for subsequent development stages by effectively exploiting the country's vast potentials in natural resources and labor.



2. To develop the construction materials industry to the year 2000, the envisaged guidelines to be applied are as follows:

a. Types of construction materials up to the year 2000: The construction materials industry will try to acquire almost all the necessary types of construction materials such as cement, bricks, tiles, construction stone, glass and porcelain, ornamental and finishing materials, etc. among which cement will be considered the main spearhead material of the construction materials industry sector. In addition to Portland cement, other types will be necessary such as colored cement, white cement, cement for well drilling, durable sulfate cement and other kinds of technical cement as well as low-grade adhesive substances including lime. Along with stone, sand and pebbles--whose exploitation will be developed at the same pace as cement in order to meet requirements of the structural construction parts industry and the construction sector as a whole--, the development of ornamental and finishing materials such as construction glass and porcelain and organic construction materials must also receive special attention.

As for building and roofing materials, they will, in the near future, continue to consist mainly of baked earth materials while efforts will be made to gradually lower the latter's ratio so that, by the year 2000, about 60 to 70 percent of them will be replaced by unbaked materials (including treated and natural ones).

b. Development rate: The overall development rate of the construction materials industry can be based on that of the capital invested by the whole national economy in capital construction. According to forecast data, the development rate of capital investment in capital construction in our country during each forthcoming 5-year plan may be 1.5 to 1.7 times higher. Therefore, the development rate of the construction materials industry cannot be less than 1.5 to 1.7 times during each 5-year plan.

Consequently, the output of principal construction materials by the year 2000 may be about 6.5 to 8 million tons of cement, 7.7 to 10.4 billion bricks, 1 to 1.5 billion tiles, 20 to 23 million cubic meters of construction stone, 6.3 million sq meters of construction glass and 18 million cubic meters of construction sand, etc.

Therefore, we will have to continue to exert very great efforts in the years after 2000 in the hope of satisfying our country's need to build material and technical bases for socialism!

c. Dissemination of construction material producing installations: The general guideline will be to try to spread them evenly throughout the country and to shorten the distances between production installations and consumption households by relying on the existing main communication axes and future development possibilities.

Cement production shall thus rely mainly on principal sources of raw materials (such as limestone and high frequency induction furnace slag) and

major communication axes. For this reason, it will be necessary to continuously invest in cement production installations in Central Vietnam and eastern Nam Bo.

Installations which produce building and roofing materials must be widespread throughout the country and those which extract construction stone, sand and pebbles must depend on the distribution of stone, sand and pebble mines in our country. In particular, installations producing various types of ornamental and finishing materials such as construction glass and porcelain must be spread mainly among large cities and concentrated industrial zones.

Following the above-mentioned guidelines, the construction materials industry will have to carry out these tasks according to the 1986-90 plan:

--Concentrate on effectively using the existing production installations, especially those equipped by foreign countries to produce cement and construction porcelain and stone; gradually restore and rapidly put all activities related to the production, circulation and distribution of construction materials in the right track according to socialist large-scale production regulations; and quickly determine the role of the construction materials industry as a modern industrial sector; and

--Prepare for investments and make major investments in the production of principal spearhead materials such as cement and construction glass and porcelain, exportable construction materials and those still missing in the composition and variety of our construction materials.

d. Organizational measures for implementation: To achieve the above-mentioned development targets and trends of the construction materials industry, it is necessary to implement the following specific measures:

--Create all conditions to grasp the state of resources including natural resources and industrial discards used to produce construction materials (with full knowledge of their quality, existing volume and possible use).

--Reorganize the construction materials industry into a specialized sector or a special territorial one according to the managerial decentralization principle in order to bring into play all scales, echelons and components of the nationwide network of construction material producing installations.

--Intensify scientific and technical research on construction materials and promptly apply the outcome in implementing progressive scientific and technical plans 26.02 and 26.01.

--Step up the training and uniform deployment of scientific, technical and production management cadres and skilled workers.

--Start research soon, revamp organization, fully exercise state management throughout the construction materials industry and promulgate the necessary policies (such as those on the exploitation, use and protection of resources and on the production, use, pricing and exportation of construction materials).

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